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ISSUED QUARTERLY

ARTICLES

The Quality of Distinction *Max Farrand* 509

Escape to the Present *Jesse Dunsmore Clarkson* 523

The Sick Poor in Colonial Times *Albert Deutsch* 560

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

Erich Bollmann at Vienna in 1815 *Paul Sweet* 580

DOCUMENTS

Charles Carroll's Plan of Government . . . *Philip A. Crowl* 588

REVIEWS OF BOOKS *(See inside cover pages)* 596

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS *(See inside back cover page)* . 693

HISTORICAL NEWS 737

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

Miller, *History and Science*, by Edward Rosen 596
Gasser, *Geschichte der Volksfreiheit und der Demokratie*, by C. V. Easum 597
McIlwain, *Constitutionalism, Ancient and Modern*, by Thomas I. Cook 598
McIlwain, *Constitutionalism & the Changing World*, by John Dickinson 600
Tompkins, *Russia through the Ages*, by Jesse D. Clarkson 602
Darby, *The Medieval Fenland; id., The Draining of the Fens*, by N. Neilson 603
Shryock, *Development of Modern Medicine*, by Chester H. Kirby 605
Archives Year Book for South African History, I-II, by C. W. de Kiewiet 606
The Albanian Struggle in the Old World and New, by Edith P. Stickney 607
Rappard, *The Quest for Peace since the World War*, by Rushton Coulborn 608
Boggs, *International Boundaries*, by Erwin N. Griswold 609

ANCIENT HISTORY

Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, by Arthur Jeffery 610
Parke, *History of the Delphic Oracle;* Lanzani, *L'Oracolo Delfico*, by Arthur Darby Nock 611
Cummings, *Alexander the Great*, by Kurt von Fritz 613
Spade, *Immunità ecclesiastiche nel diritto romano imperiale*, by Peter Charanis 614

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Klibansky, *Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages; id.* and Kordeuter, *Plato Latinus*, I, by Gray C. Boyce 615
Bloch, *La société féodale*, by William A. Morris 617
Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, by Henry L. Savage 618
Gwynn, *English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif*, by S. Harrison Thomson 620
Weise, *Die geistige Welt der Gotik und ihre Bedeutung für Italien*, by Hans Baron 621
Calmette and Déprez, *Histoire du moyen âge*, VII, by Henry S. Lucas 623

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Rosen, *Three Copernican Treatises*, by Florian Znaniecki 624
Lejeune, *La formation du capitalisme moderne dans la principauté de Liége au xvi^e siècle*, by Charles Woolsey Cole 625
Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Philip and Mary, IV, *Elizabeth*, I, by Conyers Read 627

(List of Reviews of Books continued on the inside back cover page)

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ESCAPE TO THE PRESENT

THE fifty-fifth annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held in New York on December 27, 28, and 30, with headquarters at the Hotel Pennsylvania and overflow sessions at the nearby Hotel McAlpin. Assembling for the first time since 1909 in the nation's metropolis, the conclave was the biggest, if not the best, in the history of the Association. The registration figure of 1116 exceeded by four the previous record, set at Philadelphia in 1937. The number of listed participants, excluding chairmen, reached a new high of 225, and there were 111 formal papers and addresses as against 76 the year before. The Program Committee was faced with the unenviable task of matching the excellence of an ever lengthening series of predecessors, while the Committee on Local Arrangements, functioning through its exemplary chairman and secretary, Shepard Morgan and Dwight C. Miner, had the problem of reconciling its guests to a meeting riven by a week end and in competition with such offerings in the field of Americana as "Panama Hattie" and "Louisiana Purchase", to say nothing of "The Philadelphia Story".

Among the special divertissements were simultaneous Sunday afternoon teas, given by Mrs. Max Farrand, the wife of the president of the Association, at the Cosmopolitan Club and by Fordham and Columbia Universities on their campuses. At the Cloisters the "Christmas Story in Medieval Art" and a program of recorded medieval music were presented every afternoon, with a special concert by the choir of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music on the concluding Monday afternoon. The Museum of the City of New York, the New York Public Library, and the Pierpont Morgan Library also co-operated by arranging special exhibitions for members of the Association.

If local arrangements succeeded in providing diversity, the Program Committee found diversity forced upon it. Joint meetings with other societies and pressures from internal groups, the influence of tradition and the urge to progress, considerations of principle and demands of expediency—all combined to compel abandonment of any thought of unity.

Of the threescore sessions scheduled nearly a third were jointly sponsored by related societies meeting concurrently; it need scarcely be

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remarked, however, that the proportion of joint meetings was greatest in that area of the program connected with the service of food. The internal groups—Modern History, Far Eastern History, Latin-American History, and the like—which of late years have been growing so rapidly and informally within the Association, each laid claim to one or more appearances on the program, and normally they, too, gravitated toward the luncheon table. When provision had been made for all such special interests, the sessions remaining at the untrammeled disposal of the Program Committee were a bare half of the total and depended for their allure almost wholly on intellectual provender.

The success at recent meetings of new techniques of stimulating discussion from the floor required further development. The committee also endeavored to clear the ground for new talent even at the risk of uprooting welcome and heart-warming perennials. So far as practicable, younger men and women were invited to prepare the papers, while their seniors were entrusted with the more difficult task of leading the discussion. If in the process many well-known historians were omitted from the program, their participation from the floor was only the more welcome. In selecting from the flood of offerings it was necessary to arrange a substantial proportion of the sessions in the time-honored pattern of formal presentation of one or more papers with ensuing discussion. But in all instances the effort was made to restrict the prepared portion of the session, including the remarks of discussion leaders, to half the allotted time, leaving the balance for free discussion. Praise is due to the chairmen, to the readers of papers, and to the discussion leaders who so framed their remarks as to stimulate the active interest and participation of their audience. Care was taken also to include a number of sessions cast in the form of round-table discussions, though it may be doubted whether it is the form of the session so much as the skill of the participants that makes for success. The Program Committee had prepared an *Index expurgatorius* of all who had participated in programs in recent years, and special dispensation was sparingly accorded. The unusually large participation of denizens of the Pacific Coast was noteworthy, while deliberate local abstention from the footlights kept metropolitan participation to a minimum. The education of Clio was carried forward with continued emphasis on representation of philosophy and other branches of study sometimes less conscious of time and place than are most of Clio's assembled devotees.

This complex of factors demanded a high degree of organizing skill and patient tact on the part of the chairman of the Program Committee.

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In Merle E. Curti these qualities were not wanting, and his adeptness succeeded in weaving the inevitably disparate elements of the program into a harmony with four dominant themes: The Historical Profession; War and Society; The Common Man; and New Interpretations. With these four themes as a framework it is possible to essay, if not to achieve, an approach to a coherent account of the whole scene. For the substance of this account the writer, who could not personally witness a tithe, is indebted to those colleagues and students who generously undertook to digest its component parts and to the participants, who for once at least, with few exceptions, put their thoughts in order and on paper weeks before the event.

I

A quarter of the sessions and more than a third of the meals were devoted to a sweeping stocktaking of the historical profession itself. Rising from re-examination of the physical materials of the craft, through methods of imparting historical lore, whether orally or in print, to public relations and the love of wisdom, this series concluded with the Historian in Times of Trouble.

On the opening morning, at a session consecrated to New Aids to Historical Research, with the president of the Association in the chair, Richard B. Morris made a stirring plea for the rescue of tons of archival material from the "Stukas" by decentralizing its housing and by its duplication with the aid of the profession's new mechanical toy, the microcamera. "The Challenge of Historical Materials" continued that exposition of the virtues of microfilming which in the last few years has become a regular fixture at Association meetings, and in it Mr. Morris renewed the plea for the better ordering and care of public and private records. In elaboration, Kathleen Bruce described the work and the problems of the Historical Records Survey in Virginia. Francis S. Philbrick emphasized the value of legal records for the writing of society's biography. Henrietta M. Larson pleaded the cause of Clio's youngest, not to say fairest, daughter—business history; her hope chest is hardest to fill since private firms are either unconscious of the social value of their records or hypersensitive to their abuse. Paul H. Johnstone explained how the Department of Agriculture sifts tons of materials for its synthetic studies of rural life. Harold M. Graves acted as announcer for the Princeton radio listening station, which is recording foreign broadcasts as a basis for propaganda analysis, a task which the Hoover War Library has recently undertaken for trans-Pacific broad-

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casts. Lengthy discussion from the floor of the work of the Historical Records Survey was concluded with the consoling observation that in Rhode Island the Daughters of the American Revolution are completing a survey of all inscriptions on tombstones.

In appropriately lighter vein, at a luncheon sponsored jointly by the Society of American Archivists, with Waldo G. Leland of the American Council of Learned Societies in the chair, Rex Crawford made a humble plea for more extensive use of archives by historians for the benefit of their more benighted sociologist brethren.

A somewhat similar plea was made at a session devoted to the Significance of Local History for Social Scientists. Edgar B. Wesley and Theodore C. Blegen reported the findings of the Association's representatives on the Social Science Research Council with respect to the effort to develop the types of local history significant to the social sciences in general. Leland D. Baldwin reported on "Lessons from Experience" in the Western Pennsylvania Survey, and Fay-Cooper Cole made a special plea for co-operation in this field with anthropologists.

Similar in scope was a joint session with the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies at which the "Report of the Policy Committee: A Suggested Program of Action for the Conference of Historical Societies" was discussed by a panel of representatives of the New York State Historical Association, the McCormick Historical Association, the National Park Service, the National Archives, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the New York Historical Society.

The more genteel aspects of the historian's materials were contemplated at two sessions. One, held at the Pierpont Morgan Library, considered the importance of that library to the student of cultural history; those who attended were invited also to view the library's art collection. Those attending the other session, which was jointly sponsored by the Bibliographical Society of America, spent an evening at the Grolier Club, where, with Randolph G. Adams in the chair, four papers were read on Historical Aspects of American Bibliography.

Turning from the historian's materials to the proper use of these materials, attention was given to instruction in history at both graduate and undergraduate levels. In both cases the paper to be used as a basis for discussion was circulated in advance in mimeographed form, and a battery of four was entrusted with discussion. Lest Howard Meneely's paper provide insufficient food for thought, the Training of Graduate Students was assigned to a luncheon. The commonplace indictments of American graduate schools were readily admitted. By implication the

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speaker also leveled against them the perhaps far graver charge that advanced study in history is useless save as it results in a paying teaching job. Predicating his suggested remedies for present ills on the doctrine that the academy should stand in the market place, he advocated "some sort of planned economy in the granting of advanced degrees". Mr. Meneely's paper has been published in the January issue of *Social Education* and needs no further comment here. H. S. Hughes emphasized that encyclopedic knowledge cannot supply the "lack of philosophical integration". J. B. Wolf spoke for "extensive directed reading" and expressed fear of pedagogical instruction. Foster R. Dulles advocated training young researchers to write better as a means of saving the public from amateurs. William B. Hamilton desired freer personal contacts between students and professors. In open discussion it was suggested that the Association itself might become a medium for "rational planning" to adjust production to the market, while Solon J. Buck held out, to the unemployable excess, hope of a future in archives.

At the lower level of the Introductory Course in History Sidney R. Packard's "Digest of Material obtained by Questionnaire from Sixty American Colleges and Universities" made clear the great lack of clear agreement throughout the country even on questions so fundamental as the proper objectives of such a course. Inevitably, content, arrangement of material, reading requirements, and teaching methods vary widely, as indeed they must in institutions differing radically in size, in equipment, in the character and quality of their student body, and in miscellaneous local conditions. The report gave special attention also to the problems of geography and map work, to the recently crescent wave of "civilization courses", for which "on the whole . . . there seems to be no mounting enthusiasm", and to the seemingly insoluble problem of that clearly necessary evil, the textbook. Over all hovered the query whether college history teachers may rightly be described as "alert, intellectually flexible, and somewhat adventurous". A fuller summary of Mr. Packard's report has been published in the December issue of *Social Education*. To the digest was appended a decalogue of pertinent questions. Unfortunately the digest and the questions proved largely love's labor lost on the discussion panel. Discussing objectives and content, George A. Hedger outlined an interesting local experiment at the University of Cincinnati, while Thomas C. Van Cleve of Bowdoin took his stand on the rock-bound coast of tradition. With one wheel horse geeing while the other hawed, discussion from the floor bogged down out of sight of its own objective. Ostensibly switching the discussion to

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methods, Paul P. Cram bespoke the objective of rearing "tough-minded young men with ideals", a goal to be achieved by combined use of a "mature textbook", conferences with small numbers of students, and lectures, naturally without "spoon-feeding". Reginald F. Arragon would emphasize "how to think", not "what to think", with unsettling lectures and small group discussions in a spirit of give and take.

A more technical discussion was devoted to Agencies for the Professional Growth of Teachers, including a paper on "Adapting the Radio to the Classroom", introduced by one on "Experimenting with New Method and Organization", and topped off with "The Popularization of Scholarship". This session, presided over by Erling M. Hunt, was jointly sponsored by the National Council for the Social Studies, and a fuller account of it has appeared in the February issue of *Social Education*.

Idealization of the role of the historical profession was properly reserved for the presidential address, delivered by Max Farrand after an excellent dinner. This address, entitled "The Quality of Distinction", appears *in extenso* in the present issue of the *Review* and needs no comment. President Farrand was introduced by Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, who once more took his stand unreservedly on the side of the triumph of high aspirations, a position which the uninspired, uncensored, and uninhibited press unhesitatingly interpreted as meaning more "Bundles for Britain".

The quality of distinction was discussed from another angle at the luncheon of the editorial staffs. Carl P. Rollins of the Yale University Press read a paper on "Present and Possible Standards of Taste in the Printing of Historical Periodicals".

The concept of current emergency that suffused the presidential address, that eternal conviction of living men that their times are graver than any other, the human urge to make a dichotomy between the past and the present, provided the tinder for three brief and scintillating papers delivered at the Modern History Luncheon. Their running title, The Historian in Times of Trouble, may be timeless, but nothing could better illuminate the basic unity of history, the objective identity of the momentary present and the cumulative past. E. Harris Harbison polished that facet of "The Age of the Renaissance" which reflected the struggle of its historians to "solve the antinomy of will versus reason and faith". He suggested that the "apostles of will", such as Petrarch, Machiavelli, and Jovius, scorned the immediate past in favor of the great man theory, which tempted succeeding generations of historians

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to twist the past to fit the present, while others, such as Poggio, Guicciardini, and Blondus, sought "escape from contemporary confusion in historical romancing or irrelevant erudition". Yet "a few eminent thinkers"—More, "the apostle of reason and faith" (alias "the conservative"), and Machiavelli, "an apostle of will" (alias "the radical")—were identified by Harbison as true to "the historian's highest calling", as preserving the "tension between participation *in* the historical process and detachment *from* it". Dealing with the duller "Age of Metternich", Sherman Kent demonstrated the ease with which historians turned politicians if not prophets and participated actively in making their corners of the universe reflect history as they wrote it. Macaulay and Grote helping to shape a Whig England which was to reverberate in ancient history; Niebuhr reforming Prussia along lines attributed to the Gracchi; Guizot, Thiers, and Tocqueville riding their hobbies in the Chamber and in their studies—these were used as illustrations of the thought that Freeman's notion of history as past politics was too limited in its chronological scope. Richard H. Heindel, dealing with "The Last Generation", found the historian no longer the master, but the servant, of the politician. Seeking to reduce the timeless to the timely, he was reduced to the dizzy dream of remaining "Happy though Historical".

Happy, certainly, was another luncheon meeting in this series, entitled The Historian and the Larger Public, one of the rare prandial functions allotted to no special interest in the Association. Guy Stanton Ford threw out from the chair the query whether the historian changes aspect when he turns from the smaller to the larger public. R. L. Schuyler, in a paper which should be read in the March issue of the *Political Science Quarterly,* weighed the answer in terms of "The Usefulness of Useless History". "Background history", interested in "how we got this way", serves the purposes of "exponents of Progressive Education, champions of the New History, social scientists, journalists, and the public generally"—to say nothing of totalitarian constructors of the "new order"; but history should be written on Coke's principle, *contemporanea expositio fortissima est.* It cannot indeed be anything but subjective, as are even the natural sciences. Yet it alone permits a historically minded instead of a present-minded view of the past. Henry F. Pringle addressed his remarks to the problem of "The Historian and the General Reader", ignoring even the possibility of a smaller public. Heaping scorn on "those horrid, ugly handmaidens of scholarship"—appendixes and bibliographies and footnotes—he appealed straight to the dictionary to find that history is by definition "a story". "Tell me a

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story" is the plea of a child. Remember "the thrill that came when the lights were lit in the nursery and the wind beat against the window pane". But in adolescence came "prosy teachers, stuffy classrooms, dates and maps, more dates, maps, lists of rulers and presidents to be memorized, and dull histories and biographies". Pleasantly and generously, Mr. Pringle defended the historian against the defeatist notion that he cannot write for the larger public; in most cases it is simply that he will not do so. Appropriately enough, Mr. Pringle concluded with dicta of three noted connoisseurs, whether of history or of the wider public—Lord Chesterfield, Henry Ford, and Thomas Carlyle—unabashedly culled "from Burton Stevenson's *Home Book of Quotations,* Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1934".

Historiography, in the normal professional sense, was discussed at two sessions, one arranged by the Slav group on Russian Historiography, the other devoted to Regional Influences on American Historiography. As outstanding specimens of Russian historiography were selected the classic Kliuchevskii and the Marxist Pokrovskii. Michael M. Karpovich appraised the still dominant position of Kliuchevskii as creator of the most lasting synthesis of Russian history, "which today is at least seventy years old". Kliuchevskii dug below the legal and institutional interests of his predecessors of the "juridical school" to explore underlying social forces and economic interests. In conclusion Mr. Karpovich analyzed outstanding departures from Kliuchevskii's interpretations, suggesting that the time is coming when on the basis of current "spadework" another master historian must essay a fresh synthesis. Albert Parry, acknowledging that little had been left unsaid by Mr. Karpovich, queried whether Kliuchevskii's acceptance of the state as a historic force, along with his nationalism and his pioneer economic interpretation, was not among the factors in the current acceptance of his work in the Soviet Union. D. Fedotoff White emphasized the relation of Pokrovskii's personal and political career to the writings of that "Marxian Samson". Pokrovskii was avowedly a "background historian", for whom the past was important "mainly for the understanding of the present". Outdoing Freeman, he defined history as "politics turned into the past". In Mr. White's view a prediction made in 1932 that " 'pure history' would be able to give greater recognition to Pokrovskii than Pokrovskii was able to give to pure history" was valid. Non-Marxist historians have recognized the value of his work, while in the last few years he has been "anathematized in Russia on political grounds". Thomas R. Hall emphasized the significance of the fact that Pokrovskii's

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theories of history cannot be discussed apart from his revolutionary biography and suggested that the fate of his renown may perhaps serve as a warning to historians tempted to descend from their ivory towers. Mr. Hall also commented on Pokrovskii's reorganization of the archives and on his extensive publication of documentary materials. In further discussion it was suggested that Pokrovskii's revised estimate of the revolutionary role of the peasantry might be coupled with skepticism as to the working-class character of the Bolshevik Revolution. Limits of time and the intrusion of nationalist motivations prevented the pursuit of an interesting query as to Stalinist interpretations of Peter the Great.

At the other session devoted to professional historiography Viola F. Barnes developed "The Effect of the Region on the New England Historian" along two lines. On the one hand, choice of subject was affected; on the other hand, the New England conscience has been powerless to prevent manifest local bias, even in Channing. Yet, as this New England historian concluded her paper, "We have no better history than the best work of New England historians." Eric F. Goldman entitled his paper "The Nationalizing Element in Middle States Historiography". Finding no common characteristic of the region save its "middleness", he pointed to the work of Herbert Adams, McMaster, Wilson, and Dunning as illustrating how the "inbetweenness" of the area enabled its historians to dispense with sectional prejudices and left them free to think in national terms. Ella Lonn found a definite "unity and distinctiveness" in the South, with its peculiar class alignments. "First among regional influences in the South was the deleterious effect of the weather"; second "ranks the impoverishment resulting from the Civil War". The total picture, ranging from Southern hospitality to renascent reactionary agrarianism, was distinctly dismal. John D. Hicks, though dealing with animal spirits, chose to style his paper "The Ecology of Middle Western Historians". The work of Turner and other Middle Western writers of American history was found to be rooted in the frontier characteristics of the region. With the passing of the frontier Turner's sun must set; the advance of industry has inexorably altered the regional influence, with the danger that as live interest in the pioneer fades, the press of current class clashes may distort the history of the West that really was. Fulmer Mood, perhaps reflecting regional influences, emphasized that the Pacific Coast is not merely a region but a whole congeries of regions. Subregional histories, free from parochialism and ever conscious of their role in the nation, have been chiefly the work of immigrants, particularly from Wisconsin. Bolton,

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H. H. Bancroft, and Parrington, "the most perfect flower of the immigrant historical writers", were upheld as models for historians of the Atlantic seaboard to emulate. Pacific Coast historians have generally championed the pioneer against the corporation, but labor history has been strangely neglected; to illustrate the essential quality of Far Western historiography Mr. Mood reached out to claim "Webb of Texas", against whom there has been in the East a "conspiracy of silence". The advantages of the Pacific Coast in the Far Eastern field were duly noted, and it was urged that there American history may best be given hemispheric interpretation. Discussion emphasized the probable submergence of regionalism as horizons expand.

In the series dealing with the historical profession the high point, in theory, was reached at a session devoted to the Concept of Causation in Historical Studies. The Nestor of historical causation, Frederick J. Teggart, epitomized the findings of his years of examination. It is said that "every historian has been a law to himself", seeking to tell "what it was that actually took place" but leaving the general problem of establishing causal relations to unhistorical philosophers. The "great man theory" turns on Cleopatra's nose, making chance, if not propinquity, the dominant factor in history. "Synthesis" merely expresses the idiosyncracy of a particular historian. The concept of change, in terms either of "cycles" or of "evolution", hinges on formulation of "a philosophy of life" and leaves many questions of history "insoluble by historical methods". Explanation in terms of continuous "struggle" entails the notion of a directive, if not Providential, agency shaping man's destinies. Yet if events in different times and places be classified (as, for example, the barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire), their common causes may be sought by the same method of methodical examination. By painstaking comparison Teggart has discovered striking correlation, on the one hand, between wars in the T'ien Shan and attacks on Rome's Pannonian frontier, and on the other hand, between wars in the Roman East and disturbances on the Lower Danube and the Rhine. This correlation removes the problem of causation to a remoter stage, where "interruptions of trade" come into play. Teggart urged on historians their duty to make scientific investigation of causation in history: malaria was conquered because men believed its cause could be discovered. A comment prepared by Edward P. Cheyney and read by Charles W. Cole admitted that analysis is more popular than narrative. The scientific method, positing "laws", is an important contribution, but the belief that history must live up to science may be a

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liability. Mr. Cole appended Tolstoi's discussion of the causation of Napoleon's war with Russia in 1812. The philosopher-chairman, Morris R. Cohen, injected the distinction between "necessary" and "sufficient" causes. Walter E. Ives rebelled against the concept of history as a natural science; history is a moral science, and the historian's problem is "strictly teleological". William J. Bossenbrook noted that methodology changes with social values; the empirical approach ignores qualitative factors, which can be understood only with the aid of a "flexible conceptual apparatus". Edward C. Kirkland argued that economic determinism must rid itself of emphasis on the pocket nerve and disregard the class struggle; scientists did discover the cause of malaria, but perhaps because there was a cause. Mr. Cohen questioned the use of correlation as a basis for causation and fleetingly drew attention from the Roman frontiers to the declining urban populations of Gaul and Spain.

II

The second theme of the program, War and Society, might at first sight seem a horrible example of the dominance of "background history". But this series of sessions was less the fruit of "present-mindedness" than it was the systematization, mainly on chronological lines, of topics that have always played a large role at annual meetings of the American Historical Association.

The honor of opening the series was accorded to guest social scientists—whether because Clio needs education by them or because they need to sit at Clio's feet need not here be determined. Bessie L. Pierce presided over a session on Nature, Man, and War, at which an anthropologist, a geographer, and a sociologist made their offerings. Bronislaw Malinowski defined war, "in the only legitimate way", as something which cannot exist "at low levels of development"; *ergo,* war is not biologically determined. Culture, which alone has produced war, can and must eliminate its own creation. Human aggressiveness, which admittedly exists at primitive levels, is merely "a derived impulse which arises from the thwarting of one or the other of the basic physiological desires (sex, hunger, ambition, need for protection) or else from the thwarting of culturally determined interest, appetite, or desire". Hence Mr. Malinowski took his stand, like the totalitarians, for a new world order, based, however, on "international prevention of wars and organization for co-operation", a "reality for which it is worth while to live and work, to fight and die". Quite different was the approach of

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Derwent S. Whittlesey to "The Role of Geography in Twentieth Century Wars". Treating the present war as one more struggle between "haves" and "have-nots" rather than in terms of superficially clashing ideologies, he emphasized the struggle for raw materials. *"Lebensraum"*, less poetic than its equivalent "manifest destiny", is but a reflection of the abuse of geography in the guise of *Geopolitik*, used for the first time in history "as a conscious incentive to fight and a directive of war measures". Kimball Young based his discussion of "Some Socio-psychological Factors in Modern Warfare" on study of the civilized child rather than the adult savage. Though agreeing with Mr. Malinowski in attributing human aggressiveness to "the frustration of smooth movement from impulse to satisfaction", Mr. Young found its roots in childhood, when the individual's "organic structure for struggle, avoidance, and attack" comes to function under the impact of contact in society. "These patterns, however, are canalized off later toward culturally acceptable objects", and "peaceful co-operation and sublimated competition" within defined groups "are partially dependent upon this displacement of our more violent aggression on the out-group". The present "total war" was characterized as merely the logical outcome of a cultural pattern of long standing attended by interesting totalitarian techniques of destroying morale. Mr. Young's conclusion, less optimistic than Mr. Malinowski's and more in agreement with Mr. Whittlesey's concept of just another bigger war, admitted only the possibility of reducing the intensity of aggression in the individual at the early and formative years and of providing by new institutions "some patterns of adult antagonism . . . somewhat this side of the mass slaughter which we call war". In a period of lively questioning, in which the press participated, Messrs. Malinowski and Young sharpened their respective positions. Carl Becker's treatment, in "Everyman his Own Historian", of the analogous problem of the class struggle to produce a classless society was not evoked to lay the ghost of 1917, "the war to end war". Perhaps it should be added that a historian present, to whom in this atmosphere of prophecy the chair made direct appeal for comment, deemed total abstention wise.

Historians, however, picked up the ball within the narrower limits of time and space. Tom B. Jones began the story with a paper on "Propaganda, Hysteria, and the Peloponnesian War". Hysteria, based on the psychological state which war induces, was aggravated by plague, military disasters, and civil strife. Its consequences were atrocities and restrictions on freedom of speech and intellectual activity. Consideration

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of the role of propaganda led Mr. Jones to the ultimate question whether the prevailing favorable opinion of the Athenian democracy and of the intellectual level of the average Athenian citizen must not be revised. Sterling Dow thought that Athenian hysteria was not abnormal in the close proximity of the enemy and that the conduct of Athenian affairs was on the whole surprisingly calm; the plague made little difference, and the absence of parties gave the semblance rather than the reality of hysteria.

Taking a long leap forward, the scene shifted to "The Influence of the Mercenary Spirit in Late Medieval Warfare". Richard A. Newhall found medieval society singularly uninterested in war save in the immediate presence of the military of one side or the other. The nobility "made of warfare a gentlemanly pastime" and largely were "content with intangible rewards"; their followers were motivated by personal "ties of loyalty and interest". In the fourteenth century, however, the English captains were entrepreneurs, who frequently sublet their contracts with the king, and the fortunes of war were made by ransoms and loot combined with wage cutting. The emphasis on predatory gain attracted numerous "young fellows who hitherto had been of but small account". In slack times "these predatory soldiers presented merely a problem of unemployment", and royal armies may be regarded in the light of the W.P.A., strengthening the central government. General Oliver L. Spaulding stressed the importance of distance and time in medieval warfare and noted that the service opportunities and rewards were greater in royal armies than in local mercenary forces.

A lesser leap carried the tale to War and Society in Early Modern Europe, a session at which two distinct problems were discussed. Alexander Thomson analyzed the interrelations of "The English Civil War and the English Gentry", viewing the struggle as a conflict between two ideologies. Under the one conception, derived from medieval Christendom, "the various groups and individuals in the population performed their own special functions for the good of the whole"; this side of the controversy was represented by those dispensers of "social justice", the first two Stuarts, and by their "staunchest ally, the divine right episcopacy". The newer view, "quickened by the commercial revolution and abetted by the Protestant reformation", was that society was "composed of individuals who had no functions to perform but who had only rights which the state existed to protect"; its partisans were the gentry, for "the rights to be protected were chiefly those of individuals

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who possessed property in land". War with Spain and war with Scotland provided opportunity for the gentry to put pressure on the crown, and civil war, though disastrous to individuals, ultimately sealed the triumph of the gentry as a class. In discussion William H. Coates argued that the older interpretation of a struggle between liberty and tyranny still had some validity. The other problem was posed by Frederic C. Lane under the title "National Wealth and Protection Costs". Discussing that aspect of mercantilist activity reflected in the use of war to increase national wealth, he pointed out that the measure of its success requires computation of the "protection rent" involved. Colbert's West Indian policy, directed against the Dutch sugar trade, caused diversion of French capital and labor from temporarily more profitable employment, to say nothing of more direct costs; but in the long run the commerce and industry thus fostered proved to be subject to the law of increasing returns. On the other hand, the Portuguese attempt to increase the "protection costs" of the Venetians in the spice trade yielded temporary great gains from plunder but in the long run was ruinous by diverting capital and labor from normal commerce and industry. In discussion John M. Potter stressed the development of state control of military forces as a method of destroying feudalism, war becoming an instrument of state policy.

The next chronological stage was alluringly entitled The Democratization of War. Colonel Herman Beukema of West Point read a paper on "The Social Aspects of Conscription in Europe's Experience". Ranging over the whole reach of history, from ancient times to the living present, he used a flexible distinction between "democratic" and "despotic" conscription to produce many striking results. Touching on the social situations that make for conscription, Colonel Beukema noted that "for the five hundred millions of people under totalitarian rule, conscription has become the wartime extension of a peacetime social concept which reduces the individual to the status of a fraction of the state". He concluded on a note of caution:

> A gullible people, dazzled by military success, are all too apt to overlook the necessity of qualifying a grant of power to the nation's leaders with the proviso "for the period of the emergency" only and of leaving in being the popularly elected instrumentalities which shall determine when the emergency has in fact ended. Therein, as history has clearly shown, lie the greatest social and political dangers of democratic conscription.

Thomas H. Thomas, discussing "The Army and the Railway Revolution", described the tremendous impetus given to the offensive, as first

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instanced in 1859, by the rail network and attributed to it, rather than to any "more aggressive temper of national policy", the heightened tempo of military effort. Railways necessitated a complete overhauling of the technique of mobilization, entailing economic catastrophe which made "the mere danger of war almost as formidable as war itself". Hoffman Nickerson and Hans Speier took issue with Colonel Beukema's categories and expressed the wish that the social effects of conscription had been discussed. Mr. Nickerson suggested that prolonged mass warfare would produce moral degeneration, particularly in the United States. General Spaulding expressed the fear that, as in 1917-18, the current military program of the United States might be overdone, with resultant inefficiency.

Somewhat similar in scope was a session on the Civil Mind in an Armed Society, jointly sponsored by the American Military Institute. Hanson W. Baldwin, military editor of the New York *Times,* developed the role of the civilian "At the Turning Point in the Study of War" in an argument for wider study of war, too great a subject to be left to the professional soldier alone. Harvey A. De Weerd, in a paper on "The Changing Relationship of Civilian and Military Elements in Modern Warfare", described the breakdown of the traditional compartmentalization of the civilian and the military, which survived as late as Clausewitz's pages. "The French Revolution made the civilian a potential soldier, the industrial revolution made the civilian responsible for providing the industrial sinews of war". Though the military retained "the direction and supervision of the actual military effort", the need for co-operation grew ever more vital. In 1914-18 the breakdown of established military principles and the slowness of the military profession to appreciate the importance of industrial resources and inventiveness produced deadlock and bitter quarrels with civilians prepared to force the pace of the military mind. Victory achieved only by the "dull equilibrium of an iceberg righting itself according to the laws of gravity" bred civilian "revulsion against things military" and paved the way for the failures of the democracies in the present war. Intelligent mutual and voluntary co-operation of civilians and professional soldiers is needed to confront the totalitarian concept of "society in arms"; to this end Mr. De Weerd urged historians "to grant the study of military history a place inside the general academic curriculum". Herbert Rosinski and Colonel Beukema developed further the case for closer co-ordination of civilians and the military and for the reciprocal study of their respective fields.

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The final number in the chronological series was entitled War and Industrial Society in Twentieth Century Europe. On the political side Arthur Rosenberg stressed the fundamental difference between the wartime emergency dictatorships of Ludendorff, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau and the "fascist totalitarian dictatorships" in Italy, Germany, and Russia. The base of the latter lay in domestic, not international, crises. Easton Rothwell referred to the wartime breakdown of the "automatic" mechanisms of private capitalism and the substitution of state direction, effected through fiscal, market, and labor control. He emphasized the accelerating force of war in the direction of concentration of control, the tendency to separation of ownership and control, and the decline of Europe's economic primacy. Noting the inability of economic life to return to its prewar norms, Mr. Rothwell suggested that even a defeat of the totalitarian powers will not check the tendency toward "greater and increasingly permanent intervention by the state". Paula R. Anderson, discussing "The Effect of War on Intellectual and Artistic Life", feared that the artist and writer have become too "closely integrated with social and economic life" to escape being thrown off balance. In discussion was raised the broad question of the extent to which the rise of totalitarian dictatorships has been the product of long-run historical traditions, as well as the stock question of whether American preparation for war must necessarily lead to a political dictatorship.

Somewhat hyperborean was the topic of Scandinavia and the Problems of Neutrality. Oscar J. Falnes confined his paper on "Norway and Denmark" almost wholly to a detailed account of their difficulties in 1914-18, with some description of resultant state intervention in economic life. Andreas Elviken concentrated even more on the external (particularly trade) problems of Sweden in 1914-18 and Finland in 1917-18. In discussion, Waldemar Westergaard, emphasizing the losses of the Scandinavian nations in the previous war, described the failure of attempts at concerted action in 1939. Fritiof Ander sketched the internal social conflicts which affected Sweden's position prior to and during the last war.

The bearings of wars and rumors of wars on the other rim of Europe were described in detail in a paper by Vernon J. Puryear on "Britain and the Dardanelles, 1807-1940". John C. Adams pointed out that precedent was sometimes more important than naval guns and that both the general diplomatic background and the forces behind national policies must be considered, but he concluded that the kernel of the

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question was the actual naval and military realities. John Hunziker emphasized the rise of nationalism in the Near East and the significance of the powers' economic interests, with special reference to the change in Russia's attitude.

On the other side of the world attention was attracted by War and the Transition from Feudalism to Industrialism in Japan. Edwin O. Reischauer attributed the origin of Japanese feudalism to a long period of relative peace, coinciding with economic and political collapse of the central government; its increasing complexity throughout the centuries he assigned to the development of military strategy as well as to economic growth and improving communications. Hugh Borton traced "The Effect of War upon Modern Japan (1868-1918)". After the fall of the shogunate, weakened by the transition from rice economy to money economy, organization of the army and navy on Western models combined with successes on the battlefield to effect social and political changes in the direction of a new military ascendancy. At the same time rapid industrialization under state patronage for war purposes produced economic concentration. The efforts of the industrialists to seek political control by sponsoring political parties failed to shake the power of "the group that had won the wars". William W. Lockwood dealt with "War and Economic Welfare in Japan", attributing her expansionist policies not to gospel, glory, and gold but to "face, food, and fear". Any notion that the nonpareil growth of Japan's industries in the twentieth century had failed to "elevate the general standard of living very materially" he emphatically rejected. Agriculture, to be sure, has remained primitive and overburdened, while state protection has been extended chiefly "to sustain a group of heavy industries having little economic justification". Economic progress, however, has resulted from the unaided growth of the export industries, notably textiles, from free access to the markets of Great Britain and the United States, and from relative nonparticipation in the War of 1914-18. Particularly in the last few years "war and planning for war have served chiefly to pervert and frustrate the economic and social forces operating to elevate the standard of living and relieve that relentless population pressure which is Japan's economic problem".

The other regional session appended to this series came closer home both in place and in time and, jointly sponsored by the National Council for the Social Studies, was the only one at which physical sustenance was deemed necessary. It bore little relation to history, though some to the historiography of the future. In a paper on "Pan

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America and the World Crisis" J. Fred Rippy sketched our current efforts to win friends to southward and appraised their chances of success and possible fruits. He incorporated a plea for the reconstruction of the teaching of American history on a hemispheric basis.

War and Society was also discussed from three other specialized angles, all of acute concern in the present world situation. Versailles—Past and Future was reappraised in the light of Continental historical opinion. Walter C. Langsam felt constrained to dismiss as impractical the thought of a reasonable or ideal peace settlement to come. Yet, on the basis of his study of the reaction of German historical scholarship to Versailles from 1919 to 1932, he drew up generalized blueprints for preconference diplomacy, peace-conference technique (apparently preferring Vienna to Versailles), and treaty psychology, in the hope that, whichever side be victorious, enlightened self-interest might dictate effort to provide a lasting settlement rather than an armistice. Reviewing French historical opinion, with its stress on the failure of Versailles to provide adequate security, Troyer S. Anderson differed sharply from Langsam's recommendation of "a tactful peace", urging instead a treaty "of strength and authority". He argued that any treaty which ignores the fact of widespread economic and social change, which assures the sanctity of rights hallowed by nineteenth century traditions, is doomed to fail; change must be compelled "to follow peaceful paths" but must not be blocked. "A strong peace must be made: if liberals cannot make it, others will. In that case we shall bid a final farewell to a liberalism debauched by ethical self-indulgence in beliefs that no longer face the facts of the world in which we live." George A. Washburne considered the weaknesses in the Versailles Treaty in conjunction with the fumbling irresolution of its enforcement; the pity was that the Allies defied and appeased at the wrong times. Paul Birdsall, deeming the British now driven by an altered geography much closer to the French views of 1919, characterized the Versailles settlement as too tender politically and too hard in its economic provisions. René Albrecht-Carrié, dealing with Italian reactions, suggested that if Italy, instead of focusing on the Adriatic, had taken an active part at Versailles, the terms imposed on Germany would have been saner, more lenient; Italy's subsequent policy, creating "the myth of the 'lost' or 'mutilated' victory", had been increasingly opportunistic and reckless. Active discussion from the floor ranged all the way from endorsement by the chairman, Bernadotte Schmitt, of the view that much ill had flowed from failure to enforce the peace to the somewhat isolated plea

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of Mr. Malinowski that there will be need for American objectivity in the next peace, "need to make a peace to let all live in peace".

American Isolation was isolated at a special session. Opening with quotations from two eminent sources, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Thomas Mann, Albert K. Weinberg's paper on "Traditional Factors in Contemporary American Foreign Policy" gave surcease from the tedium of the historical method by proving out of the mouth of Secretary Hull that American policy today is "always within the range of our traditional policies of non-entanglement". Making prudent selections from utterances of bygone executives, Mr. Weinberg demonstrated that the "ideology underlying our contemporary status of neutral belligerency has roots in tradition". D. F. Fleming presented a paper on "The Failure of Isolation", that somewhat legendary concept being apparently equated with abstention from membership in the League of Nations. In a deeply moved rhetorical tide Fleming condemned America's "irresponsible" foreign policy. Benjamin H. Williams appealed for "American Leadership in the Non-totalitarian World". Turning from the "dream of a world community of nations co-operating on a basis of equality for the maintenance of collective security" as hopeless in the presence of the "frantic frustration" of the "precocious central area" of Europe, he advanced the concept of our responsibility for hemiglobal leadership in the "vast outer area of easier life and lighter pressure" composed of the British Dominions, Latin America, and China. Mr. Williams cautioned against concern with foreign ideologies when confined to "the internal domestic situation in the country involved". Vigorous discussion was opened by George H. Blakeslee, who challenged Mr. Fleming's definition of isolation and his failure to understand the reasons for the failure of economic sanctions. The idea that England had in the past consistently used her navy to uphold the Monroe Doctrine was rejected as contrary to fact, and the question of Japan was raised. No solution was offered to the question whether the failure of the League was not chiefly due to the initial exclusion and subsequent treatment of Germany and Russia, nor was the charge of American irresponsibility reconciled with the effort of the Hoover administration to save the day by a general moratorium or with its stand on Manchukuo. Other questions raised from the floor provoked the chairman, Samuel F. Bemis, to insist that the day for debate is over; "we are now committed to a British victory". Mr. Fleming added that either the United States or England must take the initiative in creating a world *Lebensraum*.

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Most present-minded, perhaps, of the sessions in this series was the one devoted to George Mowry's exposition of "Some Effects of the World War on American Democracy". Beginning with affirmation of the disinclination of Americans to serve in the armed forces in 1917 and their disappointment while in service, Mowry piled up other wartime origins of the "bleak disillusionment" of the 1920's. A "pervasive cynicism", affecting democracy, religion, and historiography, was laid principally at the door of "one of the world's greatest idealists", whose prophecies were not to be fulfilled. Industrial profits and War Loan drives were taken to have "popularized materialism", as reflected in the invasion of college curricula by technical and vocational courses and in the hormonization of literature. The growth of organized "mental solidarity", coupled with outbreaks of mob violence and legislative curtailment of personal liberties, was ascribed to the war. Most of all was deplored the effect on "the creative spirit of America", as witnessed by booksellers' catalogues, by decadent scientific and technological research (though very temporarily), and by the disappearance of Progressivism. Frederic L. Paxson found the term "democracy" used too comprehensively and listed a number of phenomena under discussion, the origins of which were clearly independent of the war. He remarked that "peace cannot exist in a society which is alive" and submitted that the waging of war with "the reasonably cheerful assent of the solvent majority" had broadened the base of democracy, especially as it "shook folks loose". The ever surprising Max Lerner agreed largely both with the speaker and his critic. He seemed to find in deliberately temporary Wilsonian war measures beginnings "which flowered into the New Deal", and he transmogrified "standardization of minds" into "singleness of purpose". In conclusion, he found "corporate capitalists" constituting the class basis of isolationism and affirmed that the common man is less important than faith.

III

The third principal theme, The Common Man, played the smallest role of the four, perhaps because the man most commonly dealt with by historians is of necessity the uncommon man. Apart from quite recent times only one sampling was made. Joseph W. Swain explained the evolution of "The Gracchi and their Historians", noting that not new materials, but new subjective judgments, have led to reconstruc-

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tion in economic terms. The background of the Gracchi was drawn in terms of the effects of transition from a local Italian to a world economy. Waiving judgment on their motives, Mr. Swain reviewed their achievements, save with respect to the Italian allies, in a generally sympathetic light. Solomon Katz reviewed the confused evidence of the sources with regard to their motives and concluded that Gaius, under Greek influence, was trying to solve the problems of a hungry proletariat in Rome; Tiberius was a social reformer, Gaius interested in both social and political reform; both were honest and both essentially Roman in outlook. In open discussion the blindness of the Gracchi toward Asia was stressed.

Similar association of the concept of the "common man" with reformers governed the session on the Condition of the People as a Problem of Statesmanship in Great Britain, 1820-1850. Cecil H. Driver, discussing "New Perspectives of Wealth and Poverty in Britain, 1815-1850", described the "new political consciousness" which found expression during the "Peace without a Parallel". He emphasized the increasingly impersonal character of social protest, directed against evident maldistribution of wealth, "the condition of England question", and the prevailing Malthusian mood of social pessimism. The protest against laissez-faire individualism was described as taking two forms—the pre-Marxian labor theory of value and the Tory concept of society as a moral organism. Emily Allyn described the "Social Conscience of Cabinet Ministers, 1820-1850" as a nonexistent quantity in the period of adolescent liberalism and attributed its later manifestations less to "mere theory" than to Peel's attacks on government corruption and inefficiency, to "the dying off of the older generation", and to the pressure of Chartism and *Punch*. Considering the question, "Was the New Poor Law Benthamite?", Richard W. Hale, jr., found the "trend of the times" responsible, absolving Bentham as "merely its prophet". In a particularly lively discussion emphasis on the role of Tory socialism was both lauded and rejected as "scandalously poor history". The lack of social conscience on the part of cabinet ministers was variously attributed to their upper-class predilections and to a combination of fear and impotence. The reality of the laissez-faire doctrines was both upheld and challenged. The influence of the changed base of parliamentary representation was noted. The distinction between Bentham as a prophet and Bentham as an influence was doubted, and it was remarked that discussion of the Poor Law without discussion of Smith and

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Malthus was "remarkable". Whereupon the devotees of the English common man adjourned to the Nineteenth Century English History Tea.

More objectively conceived was the session on Standards of Living of Russian Industrial Workers in Peace, War, and Revolution. Mose L. Harvey, buttressing his findings on mimeographed statistical tables distributed to the audience, characterized the prewar real income of the Russian worker as "limited to the food, shelter, and clothing necessary for bare subsistence". With many qualifications and much significant detail, rejecting the oft-cited Strumilin's calculations as erroneous, he concluded that the "material conditions of Russian workers were not greatly affected" by the war. With much less reliance on statistics Merrill Spalding held that during the Revolution, after a slight initial rise, real wages declined, especially under the Bolshevik regime. Under war communism the workers' standard of living reached an unprecedented low; rising rapidly under the N.E.P., it fell again in the period of the Five-Year Plans. Samuel N. Harper, assuming that the workers had made the Bolshevik Revolution, posed the question whether it had paid them dividends. His suggestion that the lowering of material standards was counterbalanced by political-social gains prefaced an animated discussion in which quantitative measurements were lost sight of, though varied attempts to force Mr. Harvey to make soul-searching comparative judgments were unavailing. The prewar contribution of the villages to workers' income was acknowledged, but the value of the novel and other sources of mutually contradictory opinions was rejected.

For the rest the pursuit of the "common man" was carried on in American history. Herbert M. Morais, analyzing the available biographical data relating to 355 Boston Sons of Liberty, found among them nineteen craftsmen; assuming that of the 298 who have left no biographical traces a much more substantial proportion must have been artisans, he developed the theme that "the revolutionary ardor and uncompromising zeal of colonial mechanics, artisans, and day laborers helped bring about the American Revolution". Thomas P. Abernethy thought that Mr. Morais had shown that the leadership of the artisans was chiefly non-artisan. Max Savelle criticized the paper as oversympathetic to mere violence and as seeking to modernize what was really an agrarian-commercial movement. Philip Davidson offered as an alternative "oversimplification" the idea that revolutionary leaders were merely using violent elements against the British. Carl Briden-

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baugh doubted that socioeconomic cleavages were important in bringing on the Revolution; a similar list of Tories shows similar distribution of occupations. In open discussion it was pointed out that the use of mobs by political leaders had a long history in England.

Women also masqueraded under this general designation. Noting that for the first time the Association had allotted a session to women in history, Jeannette P. Nichols explored "The Nurture of Feminism in the United States", deploring the tendency of women not to preserve the evidence. Feminism was ascribed to rising standards of living, mechanized housekeeping, and the rise of the middle class. In the West, particularly, the "peculiar toughness of physical and moral fiber" of the pioneer combined with scarcity to enhance woman's advances; Protestantism also, despite St. Paul, gave women chances to work for a cause. Nor were emotional factors ignored. On these bases women developed political techniques in suffrage and temperance work, while women's clubs offered wide scope for excess energies. In industry women have been responsible for the most enlightened of unions, the I. L. G. W. U., while the Women's Trade Union League trained many a lobbyist. Climactically, the League of Women Voters has mightily encouraged "political independence on behalf of the general welfare". Alma Lutz, claiming that women are not good self-publicizers, differed from Mrs. Nichols in viewing wars as a contributing and the churches as a retarding factor, and she touched on contradictions between the notions of women's rights and of equal rights. In subsequent discussion a male seemed pleased to think that women have not been feminists since 1848, while another noted that women have gained their privileges obliquely. Penetrating south of the border, Lillian E. Fisher dealt with "The Influence of the Mexican Revolution on the Status of Women", describing the transition from the days when Indian tribes "crushed the spirit of their women beneath ironclad taboos and repressions" to the revolutionary days when "many women, particularly of the working class and the peasantry, were ready to take their place side by side with their men". Vera Brown Holmes ascribed the cultural lag of Latin America to historical tradition and industrial lag rather than to Roman Catholicism and Indian ancestry.

Under the chairmanship of W. E. B. Du Bois three papers were presented on the Negro in the History of the United States. Charles H. Wesley surveyed the vitally active work of "The Negro in the Organization of Abolition, 1831-1837", ranging from financial support of Garrison's *Liberator* to organization of a multitude of Negro anti-

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slavery societies. In active discussion, led by Alex M. Arnett, the relation of Negro initiative and participation to certain manifestations of Northern white hostility was suggested. Rayford W. Logan described the efforts of the American Colonization Society to secure the destruction of the Indian and the enslavement or exploitation of the Negro. A. Ray Newsome objected that the society was really heterogeneous, embracing both opponents and supporters of slavery, and that its foundation in 1817 really reflected the general attitude toward the free Negro. In further discussion Mr. Logan's suggestion of a link between the Colonization Society and the Protestant Crusade was questioned. Vernon L. Wharton emphasized "The Race Issue in the Overthrow of Reconstruction in Mississippi". Rejecting as unfounded "the accepted pattern of Negro domination, inefficiency, extravagance, and corruption", he assigned the violent overthrow of the Republican government to "race prejudice, with few contributing factors". Horace M. Bond called attention to Negro sources in additional support of this thesis and added that, on the basis of his studies of Alabaman conditions, Northern financial interests seem to have been behind the Democrats. In discussion Mr. Wharton attributed the lack of Negro resistance partly to lack of arms but mainly to the submissiveness bred by slavery and "economic helplessness".

The common man was cast also as the leading man in a presentation of "Class in American Labor History" by Selig Perlman. Continuing his challenge to the Marxian concept of "labor" and its role, Mr. Perlman all but adopted a Leninist position. The failure of early American trade-unionism he attributed to the fact that the American workers, steeped in the tradition of individualistic economic democracy, were too easily lured into politics by such dreams as "greenbackism". On the other hand, class-conscious immigrant workers, foreign to American individualistic ideals, concentrated on building stable trade-union organizations, a process in which pragmatic considerations substituted "job and wage consciousness" for their original socialist philosophy. The American Federation of Labor thus developed the ideal of "a highly integrated democracy of unionized workers and of associated employer-managers, jointly conducting an industrial government with 'laws' mandatory on the individual". The C. I. O. split sprang from the shortsightedness of "historians" and "lawyers" in the A. F. of L., and more fundamentally from the circumstance that the parent body, unlike the British Trades Union Congress, had been forced to assume jurisdictional authority. Recent developments in the

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American labor world were attributed not to a changed ideology but to an altered political scene, which has permitted "job conscious" trade-unionists to remain "side by side with Americans in general, not as a class separate from, to say nothing of a class arrayed against, the rest of the nation". In discussion Henry David raised the question whether "job consciousness" is not a manifestation of "class consciousness" and suggested that it arose from the given level of economic development rather than from Marxian antecedents. Mr. David raised the further question whether Mr. Perlman's exclusively trade-union focus did not exclude other significant aspects of the labor movement. Charles H. Page, also questioning the Marxian influence, felt that the workers were by "total experience" more than merely job conscious and suggested that dual unionism in America reflected competitive "middle-class" desires on the part of socially climbing workers. The chairman, Norman J. Ware, also maintained that the A. F. of L. represented not a Marxian background but trade-unionism "pure and simple". From the floor it was asked whether "upper-class consciousness" should not have been discussed.

The two remaining sessions devoted to the "common man" were jointly sponsored by regional societies. In collaboration with the Southern Historical Association the Southern "Demagogue" was discussed by a panel of five. Dan M. Robison, appealing to Milton, objected to the easy identification of demagogue and Southern Democrat; he urged that the "goblin label" was frequently applied, by those who opposed reforms or did not understand campaign methods, to men who played practical politics without practicing duplicity. Roger W. Shugg, in a sparkling paper, concentrated on Huey Long, the "spoiled, rebellious son of a poor Baptist farmer", who "transformed the state government from a thrifty but corrupt agent of business into an extravagantly corrupt agency of social welfare and political domination". To Francis B. Simkins "Ben Tillman, eminent agrarian and United States senator, was a very successful demagogue." Sprung of a family of "manslayers", "deferential toward women", he was "an inspired South Carolinian". Like other Southern demagogues, he was unable to develop into a national leader; yet he "possessed a generous share of statesmanship", playing "upon the prejudices of the many to advance the cause of democracy and to achieve some progressive reforms". H. C. Nixon traced the roots of demagoguery to the presence of large Negro populations and to the "extra-regional economic devil", reduced to the common denominator of ruralism. He suggested that "the

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Southern demagogue is, however, increasingly coming to resemble his Northern counterpart, the city boss". A marginal type was discussed by Thomas D. Clark, who found William Goebel "one of the most unorthodox of the breed". "He was perfectly indifferent to women", at popular gatherings "was as stiff as a country brush broom", "city man that he was". Nonetheless he fought "the fight of the common man". In discussion the existence of Southern demagogues before the Civil War and of Northern demagogues at all times was stressed, as was the relation of demagogic intemperance to the need of establishing rapport with the audience.

An analogous panel discussion, jointly sponsored by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, sought to answer the question, "To What Extent was the West a Radical Force, 1865-1892?" Robert E. Riegel considered Western farmers essentially conservative; even the favor shown to woman suffrage and direct elections and the advocacy of railroad legislation and cheap money arose from the desire to preserve traditional American conditions. Louis Pelzer thought that the West might be considered radical in land policy but that it had been too busy making a living to give momentum to general policies of economic betterment, humanitarian reform, or cultural advancement. Albert K. Kohlmeier also thought the West fundamentally conservative, but he distinguished in its support of the graduated income tax a material contribution to forces of social change. Chester M. Destler found the West radical in the sense of desiring social and economic reorganization; if specific radical ideas were imported from the East, they found ready support in Western hostility to New England control, to the railroads, and to the growing power of Wall Street; California originated the most radical proposals. Discussion centered on definitions: conservatism and laissez faire were equated; the corporations became radical; and, over Mr. Destler's protest, Western farmers turned out to be reactionaries.

IV

The concluding theme of the program, New Interpretations, represented the fresh burgeoning of historical scholarship in a medley of phases. The reinterpretative process, however, was carried back no further than the Middle Ages. At the dinner of the Mediaeval Academy Austin P. Evans read a carefully thought-out paper on the historiography of "The Heretic: A Problem of Minorities in the Middle Ages". Refraining from drawing the "easy parallel" with present problems of

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human liberty, he systematically reviewed the work of the last quarter century and indicated possible lines of further research.

"Medieval Representation and Roman Law", by Gaines Post, had been made available in advance in mimeographed form, thus permitting discussion by a panel and yet leaving time for significant discussion from the floor. Mr. Post's paper dealt with the "frequent use of Roman legal principles and terminology" in "the systems of corporate representation of communities by special delegates in the assemblies of the thirteenth century". The writer demonstrated the fundamental importance of the extensive revival of the Roman and canon law, beginning in Italy, in providing rationalization for the growing centralization of authority and, especially, of the formula *plena potestas* as an influence on the expansion of the feudal curia into an assembly of representatives which "enabled the ruler to bind the community to his will". In closing, as one reinterpreter to another, he paid tribute to "the medieval genius of assimilation and organization that created, out of fragments of Roman law, a great institution which did not exist in the Roman Empire". Charles H. Taylor, who opened the panel discussion, noted that in fourteenth century France "full instructions" predominated over "full powers". Carl Stephenson and George L. Haskins reviewed the relation of older interpretations to the one under discussion. Samuel E. Thorne remarked that in subsequent development, with one doubtful exception, the question of attendance or nonattendance of representatives did not affect the validity of statutes. In open discussion it was emphasized that contemporary problems connected with taxation were more vital than Roman influences in the growth of medieval representation. In summing up, the chairman, Charles H. McIlwain, suggested that Roman influences were reflected more in form than in content.

The Renaissance was re-examined in Wallace K. Ferguson's "New Light on the Renaissance". A sketch of successive interpretations of the Renaissance culminating in Burckhardt was followed by some account of breaches in that now classic interpretation. Mr. Ferguson contended that without doing violence to the continuity of history the conception of the Renaissance as a distinctive period may be defended on the basis of correlating its cultural aspects with economic, social, and political changes. Thus the supersession of erstwhile dominant feudal and clerical elements by urban laymen will be found to underlie the Renaissance. Leona C. Gabel added stress on Renaissance rationalism. August C. Krey spoke for more emphasis on the Italian

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cities and city life, which were aided, not hindered, by the church. Franklin L. Baumer thought the English Renaissance should be treated as a national, not a general European, movement and disagreed with the emphasis on secularism. Lester K. Born, a "practicing Latinist", asserted that there was no rebirth of classical studies because they had never died in the Middle Ages. Friedrich Engel-Janosi perceived continuity in intellectual history from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment. In open discussion reference was made to Burckhardt's real appreciation of urbanization, the lead given to Italy by the Hundred Years' War, the influence of Spain, the knitting of ties between eastern and western Europe, and the ecclesiastical backing of the Renaissance.

Seventeenth century political institutions were also re-examined. Elmer A. Beller, in a paper on "Monarchical Practices and Republican Theories during the English Commonwealth and Protectorate", found religion and trade the source of "constitutional difficulties which led to the overthrow of monarchy" but left the majority still monarchists. Parliament was reluctant to assert the sovereignty of the people, and even in the army democratic tendencies were opposed by Cromwell and Ireton. Interim governments, therefore, were "in theory and name republican, though in reality they approached a monarchy". Margaret A. Judson offered a supplementary interpretation of parliamentary hesitation over the question of sovereignty. Paul R. Doolin affirmed that "The Kingdom of France in the Last Three Centuries of the Ancien Régime was a Limited Monarchy". Citing the sixteenth century Claude de Seyssel, he discussed the three principal checks on royal authority—religion, justice, and police. "Government under law" and "government in which power is divided among several authorities", in which division "a surprisingly small share belongs to the king", were characterized, despite movement toward absolutism, as persisting to the end of the monarchy. Walter R. Dorn doubted the possibility of broad generalization but saw the monarchy as limited less by parlementary theory than by ineffectiveness in a state that was not yet homogeneous. In general discussion the control of the monarchy over the church through the power of appointment and over the parlements by *evocation* and *lits de justice* was emphasized, and limitations were ascribed to privileges. Mr. Doolin maintained, however, that he based his argument on actual practice, though admitting the abnormality of some of his instances.

Seventeenth century England was approached from a third angle in a session jointly sponsored by the American Society of Church His-

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tory and devoted to the Long Parliament and the Evolution of Religious Toleration. Linking the dispute to divisions among contemporary English Independents, Elizabeth F. Hirsch analyzed the controversy between "John Cotton and Roger Williams". Cotton was presented as a "conservative" whose concept of the unity of religious knowledge dictated persecution. Williams was more sympathetically viewed as subordinating "conscience" to intellectual decisions which each individual has the right to make for himself. Ethyn Kirby discussed "Cromwell and Toleration", and Clyde L. Grose surveyed "Tendencies toward Religious Integration on the Eve of the Restoration of 1660". These two papers involved a dispute as to how Cromwell could have been an Erastian, as Mrs. Kirby said, if, as Mr. Grose said, Erastianism is incompatible with Calvinism, while the chairman, Roland W. Bainton, suggested that Erastianism was the culmination of medieval imperialist theory. Mr. Grose attributed the indifferentism which led to toleration to a compound of deism, latitudinarianism, and scientific atheism.

From the English Revolution the work of reinterpretation skipped to the French Revolution. Beatrice F. Hyslop achieved the all but impossible in reducing to orderly form "New Work on the French Revolution". Since this bibliographical article is to be published in a future issue of this *Review,* no summary need be attempted here. Mitchell B. Garrett thought there was not much possibility at present of research in this field by American scholars, an opinion which was queried in open discussion. John H. Stewart, with special reference to Labrousse, spoke of the need of mastering the economist's techniques.

As the theme of new interpretations reached the nineteenth century, emphasis on cultural history became more pronounced. To dispose of the Romantic Movement in Western Europe in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century a novel technique was devised. After a general session, over which Carlton J. H. Hayes presided, the romantics broke up into special sessions devoted, respectively, to the English, German, and French phases of the movement. The *Journal of the History of Ideas* will devote its June issue to the publication of the papers read at the general and special sessions.

"The Meaning of Romanticism for the Historian of Ideas", transcending the potentialities of any mere historian, was developed at the general session by Arthur O. Lovejoy. As a premise he posited the summary statement that "nothing . . . but confusion and error can result from the quest of some suppositious intrinsic nature of a hypos-

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tatized essence called 'romanticism' ". Yet he found it permissible to distinguish a "romantic period". He urged the historian's duty to consider "the logical and the hypothetical psychological relations of the major unit-ideas which he has found prevalent in the period". In conclusion he traced "a certain specific historical connection between the intellectual revolution of the romantic period and the tragic spectacle of Europe in 1940". The general subject of romanticism was also discussed by Eugene N. Anderson, with definite focus on its parent Germany, "The Romantic Counterrevolution in Germany" being conceived as a reaction to rationalism and to the French. "Footloose intellectuals", lacking the solid basis of caste or property, rejected objective abstractions in favor of the subjective individual until "the blunt force of war necessitated real political action".

At one of the special sessions Hoxie N. Fairchild discussed "Romanticism and the Religious Revival in England". Characterizing "genuine", "liberal", English romanticism as "a Protestantism which has broken down into a quasi-pantheistic kind of deism" and as ranging "from a mildly humanitarian Whiggery to an emotional sort of radicalism", he found the Oxford Movement its absolute antithesis, "a mixture of a political and religious conservatism which is not only unromantic but essentially antiromantic and a thwarted liberal romanticism which has been thrown into uneasy alliance with that conservatism by the course of European history". Charles H. Lyttle and F. W. Buckler expressed general agreement, the former emphasizing the Oxford Movement as a reaction to rationalism and the latter pointing out the similarity in their emotional arguments. John H. Randall, however, emphasized that the thesis could be maintained only with reference to the Oxford Movement; other aspects of the religious revival show much romanticism, and reference had been omitted to Burke's type of reactionary romanticism.

On a different tack, at the special session on Germany, Goetz Briefs turned to "Romanticism and Economic Organization". The Napoleonic catastrophe made Adam Mueller react violently against liberalism. "The state is the totality of human affairs", the alliance of past and present generations. Corporate organization, preformed in the Middle Ages, is the eternal, proper order. Inescapably the political philosophy of romanticism was drawn into the camp of reaction and supplied the basis for the *ultima ratio* of National Socialism.

At the remaining special session Jacques Barzun assayed "Romantic Historiography as a Political Force in France". He described successive

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futile efforts to reconcile the "two Frances" created by the Revolution. Historiography ultimately formed the creed of anti-Germanism, and a kind of national oneness triumphed over liberalism and historiography itself. Sherman Kent felt keenly the need of closer definition, doubted whether ideas were the chief factors in politics, and questioned the conflict between liberalism and nationalism. Charles H. Van Duzer associated the quest for racial origins with the romantic belief in diversity and individuality and drew modern inferences from the cult of the people as developed in romantic historiography.

Another corner of the field of cultural history a century ago was ploughed at a session jointly sponsored by the American Catholic Historical Association. In a paper on "The Jesuits and Liberalism a Century Ago" Father Raymond J. Corrigan contrasted the humility of the Tercentennial Letter written by the general of the Society of Jesus with the exactly contemporary treatment of the society by "the facile Mr. Macaulay, whose immense erudition embraces realms beyond the bounds of known or knowable fact". In the France of Louis Philippe "Liberalism was a youthful, dynamic, but floating and elusive something"; under its wing "huddled an educational system that displayed all the marks of a petty despotism". Attacks by resurgent Catholicism on the monopolistic university resulted in a sortie against the two hundred priests then constituting "the sum total of active Jesuit strength" in France, who, though "closer to American ideals in their denial of both unlimited liberty and unlimited authority in any created being or human institution", were made the scapegoats. Leaping the Atlantic, Ray A. Billington described "Organized Anti-Catholicism, 1830-1860" and its influence on the rise of the Know-Nothings until checked by the outbreak of the Civil War.

Turning aside from the cultural history of recent Europe, the program shifted to economic questions. At a session on the Business Cycle and the Historian, jointly sponsored by the American Economic History Association, Arthur D. Gayer read the prospectus of a "short-run economic history", based on "The Growth and Fluctuations of the British Economy, 1790-1850". This type of history "asks of the data the questions of the economist rather than of the descriptive historian of institutions" but "is calculated to answer precisely those short-run economic questions most relevant to an interpretation of political and social events". Hans W. Rosenberg outlined "Political Consequences of the Great Depression of 1873-1896 in Central Europe". The "cyclical slump of 1873-1879" helped to establish a political alliance between big

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agrarians and peasants and ushered in the decline of liberalism. The crisis provided the initial stimulus for state intervention; prolonged economic uncertainty, in the presence of rapid growth of physical production and trade, stimulated the broadening of party bases, with their focus on economic questions. Foreign policy also was profoundly influenced. Judith B. Williams commended the principles outlined by Mr. Gayer and illustrated by Mr. Rosenberg as invaluable to the historian. Fred A. Shannon suggested that the Austro-German alliance might be thought of as a long-term political cycle. Herbert Heaton advocated carrying similar studies back to the ninth century and asked whether to the historian the long cycle is not more important than the short.

Economic questions were also discussed, in the staple framework of Austria-Hungary, by Oscar Jászi. "The Issue of National Separation versus Economic Unity" developed, with special reference to the Danubian area, the concept of a secular trend toward political and economic integration, opposed on grounds of national self-determination. The Habsburg monarchy, though not "a true specimen of a free trade territory", was "a great laboratory experiment" in economic unity. Yet nationalist disintegration triumphed, to the detriment of material standards of living and of personal security. Solution will be found "either by a federal structure or by a planned economic system of German *Lebensraum* imposed from above". Oscar J. Janowsky emphasized the futile attempt of the succession states to suppress their minorities and the need for cultural plurality under a free regime. J. R. M. Marsalka outlined Wilson's ideal of a unified Danubian area freed from German control. John C. de Wilde urged the need of a democratic plan for the establishment of a strong central authority able to combine economic unity with cultural autonomy as the only alternative to German dominance on the basis of an improved material standard of living. In open discussion both communalism and exchange of populations were suggested, while dispute arose over the possibility of material betterment under German rule and over the wisdom of Czech policy. It was generally agreed that disintegration had been no solution and that any imposed system must fail.

The question, Do Colonies Pay?, was discussed by Melvin M. Knight. Finding that "the problem even of one colony is too complex and too much involved with noneconomic questions of sovereignty to lend itself to periodic income statements such as an accountant can furnish a business", he took the position that in any case the question

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will have to be answered on a new basis in the future. From 1880 to 1934 net outlays were made in the hope of future returns but with lags that were "almost perennial". The apparently permanent destruction of multilateral trade and of its attendant colonial organization has left the world face to face with a new type of "'colonial' sovereignty over old and highly civilized nations". Mary E. Townsend thought that the question should not be answered merely in regard to monetary returns; in the short run, "colonies allow middle-class persons to live upper-class lives", but their long-run consequences are disastrous. Harry R. Rudin concluded that colonies pay primarily in respect to political power. Robert G. Woolbert wanted to be sure what a colony was. In the course of a lively but scattering discussion Herbert Heaton suggested that no generalized answer should be attempted. In conclusion Mr. Knight insisted on the underlying economic basis and the decreasing relative importance of Europe.

The question was discussed with reverse English at a session devoted to Australasia. "The Effect of Dutch Rule on the Civilization of the East Indies" was described by Amry Vandenbosch. The Dutch policy of nonintervention in native life has not always been carried out by officials on the spot and has not extended to religious practices. On the other hand the Dutch have retained a monopoly of education and science, and Western influences other than peace and order, science and sanitation, have penetrated less deeply than elsewhere. Quite different has been "The French Impact on Indo-China", as described by Thomas E. Ennis. In "the belief that French civilization is the highest and most perfect in the world", the policy of assimilation was imposed on an ancient civilization, based on Chinese institutions and traditions, with "demoralizing" results. Under Japanese occupancy nothing save medical science seems likely to remain of the French effort in administration, education, religion, and law. Across the border took place "The Independent Development of Modern Thailand"; Kenneth P. Landon's central theme was the strong Thai nationalism, expressed among many ways in the idealization of the profession of the civil servant. Under native control Western influences have struck deep root without the frustrations manifest in nearby European colonies. Ellen Van Zyll de Jong objected that any Dutch abstention from administrative activity should not obscure the fact that in pursuit of economic gain the Dutch had profoundly influenced the economic and social life, and therewith the mental outlook, of the Indonesians. Virginia Thompson suggested a modification of Mr. Ennis's thesis. She believed

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that economic development, breeding individualism and nationalism, had produced profound results in French Indo-China; withdrawal of alien rule, shallow as its direct results have been, would not result in Asiatic unity. John L. Christian contrasted the development of political freedom in British-controlled Burma with the absence of democracy in independent Thailand. A suggestion by the chairman, Tyler Dennett, that American encouragement of self-government in the Philippines had caused difficulties for European administrators was contested by G. N. Steiger, who argued that the failure of the French, Dutch, and even British to teach self-government made real the danger of Japanese dominance.

Turning north for another look, a luncheon conference viewed "Japan in Historical Perspective". Sir George Sansom dismissed the idea that the case of "a vigorous and fairly homogeneous people, in comparative isolation for about a thousand years", could usefully serve to illustrate how a society behaves when it is left to its own devices and is not subjected to powerful external influences. For "isolation is itself an operative factor, and perhaps the most important factor, in the history of Japan". Geography, intermittent intercourse with China, coupled with exclusionism, and alternating periods of peace and civil war built up a peculiar structure which rejected seventeenth century Western intrusion. Under pressure of superior force in the nineteenth century Japan carried through "an imperfect reform, an incomplete revolution", deliberately limiting the extent of Western influence which she would accept. The "paradox" of a constant "expansionist tendency, seemingly at variance with the isolationist tendency", he left to others to resolve.

In the matter of new interpretations in the field of American history cultural and economic interests divided the honors. Most remote in time was the topic of "Archaeology and History in the Valley of Mexico". In an illustrated talk at a luncheon conference George C. Vaillant demonstrated the value of excavation for reconstructing early Indian life.

At another luncheon conference Samuel E. Morison, in a "Report on the Harvard Columbus Expedition", returned to a subject which he had already discussed, with pictures, in the March 25, 1940, issue of *Life*. He deprecated the idea that significant new light had been cast on Columbus beyond clearing up points such as the old problem of why he located Cuba in the latitude of Cape Cod.

Latin America, which had figured so largely in other portions of

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the program, was also subjected to further reinterpretation. Arthur P. Whitaker defined "The Dual Role of Latin America in Relation to the Enlightenment": on the one hand, through Raynal, the supposedly ecclesiastically dominated Spanish Empire supplied the *philosophes* with horrible examples; on the other hand, Spanish America, if not Brazil, contributed largely, under the influence of German scientists, to preserving "some of the zeal for reform, humanitarianism, and useful knowledge that had animated the eighteenth century philosophers". Roland D. Hussey found numerous "Traces of the French Enlightenment in Colonial Hispanic America". Harry Bernstein described "Currents of Latin-American Thought arising from the Enlightenment in Spanish America", which he attributed to Europe's intellectual neglect and to the activity of American merchantmen. John T. Lanning contended that "The Reception of Eighteenth Century Enlightenment in Latin America" was much more real than has been supposed; Spanish legislation was not rigidly enforced, comparisons with the present day have been misleading, and hostility toward Spain has unjustly given the colonial period a dark hue. In discussion it was brought out that Brazil also was affected and that political revolution had caused a great setback to the Enlightenment everywhere.

Cultural history was reinterpreted also by students of the United States. "The Impact of the Doctrine of Evolution upon America" by Bert J. Loewenberg was circulated in advance in mimeographed form and discussed by a panel of spokesmen for theology, philosophy, education, belles-lettres, and social philosophy. Mr. Loewenberg pointed out that the disturbance caused by the reception of Darwinism was accentuated by contemporary social and economic changes. After discussing its influences on the methods and concepts of anthropology, sociology, psychology, and philosophy, he concluded that the Darwinian controversy left the nation with a firmly fixed philosophy of theistic creationism but with the techniques of the sciences profoundly influenced by the scientific approach. Dan Williams, speaking for theology, thought it more pertinent to explain the quick surrender of the theologians than the reasons for their resistance. Gail Kennedy, for philosophy, characterized the struggle as the most active phase of an intellectual revolution embracing Copernicus, Lyell, Darwin, Marx, Freud, and Einstein, which destroyed older teleological philosophies. George P. Schmidt indicated its connection with university reforms already in progress, stressing science courses and the elective system. Richard E. Thursfield showed its influence on the lower schools to have

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been indirect and much slower. Mentor L. Williams pointed to evidences of evolutionary speculation in Whitman, Emerson, and Holmes and remarked on the contributions of Darwinism to more modern mechanistic speculation. Harry Elmer Barnes asserted that its chief importance lay in its "revival of the social organism idea" and maintained that, for America, Herbert Spencer was more important than Darwin.

More catholic in its interests was a session jointly sponsored by the History of Science Society. John W. Olmstead discussed the surprisingly numerous and valuable "Early French Scientific Expeditions to America". (A paper by Louis C. Karpinski on "Literature relating to the History of Mathematics in the United States", intended for this session, was inadvertently read elsewhere.) William J. Petersen spoke on "Doctors, Drugs, and Dentists in Pioneer Iowa" but to save time omitted the dentists; he dealt with doctors and diseases, though not wholly in cause and effect relations, in pioneer Iowa from 1830 to 1870. The chairman, Richard H. Shryock, emphasized the sickliness of the pioneers as an important influence in shaping the history of frontier communities.

Economic reinterpretations of American history were arranged jointly with other societies. The Business Historical Society co-operated in Robert G. Albion's review of "The Development of Metropolitan Economy" in terms of Historical New York. The forces making for economic concentration and its social and economic consequences were resurveyed. In conclusion Mr. Albion posed the question whether, in view of New York's geographical advantages, the special factors he had noted were necessary and the further question whether concentration was "a good thing". Virginia D. Harrington asked whether transportation was not the major issue and suggested that investigation at Liverpool was needed. The development of the cotton triangle and the packet lines depended on New York's distribution and credit facilities; New York's distinctive advantage was its superior communication with the interior. Ralph W. Hidy, in general agreement, emphasized finance and suggested that studies of individual entrepreneurs were needed. In open discussion Herbert Heaton maintained that "dumping" by Liverpool merchants was unplanned and accidental.

The Agricultural History Society jointly sponsored two sessions. Under the heading, The City's Stake in Agriculture, Louise Stanley spoke of "The Farm Woman as a Factor in the Democratic State", contributing by her heavy toil and labor to maintaining one of demo-

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cracy's great economic props. Conrad Taeuber noted the duplication in America of European experience with respect to "The Migration from the Country to the City". Discussion turned largely on the possible benefits of decentralizing industrial plants to permit of part-time work on farms and its probable deleterious effect on the social ties of farm communities.

The topic was broadened at the luncheon of the Agricultural History Society into "The Role of Agriculture in the Modern Democratic State". Milburn L. Wilson of the Department of Agriculture buttressed his arguments on the validity of the Turner thesis and evinced nostalgia for the unspecialized and not highly commercialized farm life historically associated with "agrarian democracy". Today the old agriculture is being revolutionized. Technological progress, the relative diminution of the farm population, the decline of operator-ownership, and the disintegration of the old farm community are facts creating a new environment which must be met with new institutions. Yet Mr. Wilson argued for the pouring of old wine into new bottles, the infusion of the old democratic spirit into the new society.

As the climax in reinterpretation of American history may stand the address of Elmer Ellis at the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, entitled "Mr. Dooley: Journalism or Literature?" Although a "crackerbox philosopher", Peter Dunne was a satirist and humorist whose writings are strangely little "dated". If stripped of their brogue, Dunne's writings will continue to be read so long as the world "continues to accept the values which Dunne cherished—personal integrity, plain speaking, catholic tolerance, compassion for the weak, good humor, and salty wit".

The business meeting might also be included under the heading New Interpretations, but it would need a Mr. Dooley to do it justice. Some account of it will be found elsewhere in this issue.

As one reflects upon the whole scene, ivory towers seem to be somewhat in disrepute. But be that as it may, when one surveys the full flower of the American historical profession as it bloomed last Christmastide in New York, were not the finest papers, those most likely to be recognized as of permanent worth, written by scholars who, however stealthily, still resort to ivory towers the better to scan and to contemplate the historical landscape? Is it amiss, in times of trouble, to emphasize the usefulness of useless history?

JESSE DUNSMORE CLARKSON.

Brooklyn College.

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THE SICK POOR IN COLONIAL TIMES

PROVISION for the sick poor in colonial America was primarily a problem of poor relief. Its form varied widely in the colonies, depending on the general plane of social welfare reached by the several communities. Broadly speaking, the welfare level at all times depends mainly on three factors: the extent of need, the resources available to meet it, and the degree of social consciousness in the community.

Although certain colonies, like Virginia, managed to reach a level of relative prosperity after the first decades of hardship and suffering, poverty was general in most of them. This was especially true of New England, which was, in the words of Samuel Eliot Morison, "a poor country, even by the standards of the day, struggling with a niggardly nature for a livelihood". Available welfare resources were meager or nonexisting, and the level of social consciousness, in terms of active sympathy for the needy, varied widely in terms of time and place.

The struggle of the early settlers to gain a foothold in the New World presents one of the most moving epics in the pages of history. Pestilence, famine, and death dogged their trail from the time they left their native lands. The westward voyage was long and perilous, taking a frightful toll. The small ships on which the pioneer colonists sailed were often overcrowded; food was scarce and frequently tainted. Cases of starvation aboard ship were not rare.

On the individual level the vicious cycle of poverty and disease often made itself felt from the earliest days. A crop failure or unemployment might readily lead to destitution, which in turn was apt to generate sickness; conversely, disease could speedily devour the modest resources of the average colonist and result in destitution. Many of the early settlers teetered dangerously on the brink of dependency, requiring only some gust of misfortune to hurtle them over the edge.

Methods of relief varied throughout the colonies. The settlers brought over with them the poor relief principles and practices of the old country, which were applied in modified form to accord with the requirements and limitations of the new environment. The English settlements adopted the principle of local responsibility set down by the Elizabethan poor law of 1601, whereby each parish or town was made responsible for its own needy.

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As a matter of fact the exigencies of early colonial life, characterized by scattered settlements and primitive means of transportation and communication, put a premium on local autonomy in nearly all governmental functions, including poor relief. Responsibility for relief in several of the thinly populated Southern colonies was vested in the county rather than the town or parish. In some settlements public relief was dispensed by civil authorities, such as magistrates, selectmen, and overseers of the poor; in others, particularly where an established church prevailed, it was vested in ecclesiastical officers, including vestrymen, churchwardens, and deacons, sometimes acting in a semicivil capacity.

Early in their history a number of colonial legislatures found it necessary to make special provision for the sick poor. Most of this legislation dealt with the fixing of responsibility for relief in connection with the operation of the settlement laws. Uninterrupted residence in a locality for a period of from three months to a year usually gave a person settlement rights, including the right to public relief in that community should he require it. Strangers having no settlement could be removed from any town if they became dependent or were suspected of being potential public charges. Nearly everywhere, but more especially in the New England colonies, strangers were regarded with suspicion and even hostility and were apt to be warned out of town at the first sign of possible dependency. "Warning out" notices are spread all over the colonial records.

But it was often difficult, if not impossible, to drive out persons who were seriously ill, although instances are not lacking when such things were done. Therefore special regulations had to be made for such sick indigents in order to avoid or minimize quarrels over responsibility for relief. In 1642 the authorities of New Plymouth Colony passed a law making each town responsible for its own poor in accordance with English custom. Persons bringing in foreigners were required to secure the town against the eventuality of their becoming public charges through disease or otherwise.[1] Later, legislation was enacted in nearly every colony along the Atlantic seaboard requiring masters or owners of vessels to post bond against the possibility of passengers or crew members requiring public aid.

The same Plymouth statute of 1642 provided that children or elder persons sent out of town "to be nursed, educated or doctored" and fall-

[1] *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, in New England* (Boston, 1855-61), XI, *Laws, 1623-1682*, Part 1, 40.

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ing into want were to be relieved at the expense of the town from which they were sent. Similar laws were enacted elsewhere. An interesting statute passed by the South Carolina legislature in 1712 noted in its preamble that "it often happeneth that poor persons that are sick, do remove from other parishes to Charlestown, in order to have the assistance of physicians, and medicines proper to their recovery, and it may be that such persons cannot be sent back to their own parishes without endangering their lives". The law required that these sick poor be cared for by the overseers of Charlestown (now Charleston), who were to keep a separate expense account for their maintenance and to be reimbursed by the parish of settlement. A Virginia poor law of 1727 included a clause ordering local churchwardens to provide for any nonresidents too sick to be removed without danger to life; the expenses of such care were to be refunded by the place of legal settlement.[2]

Such protection, however, did not prevent some shocking instances in which sick and disabled strangers were warned out and removed by towns which refused to be burdened with their care and support. Pregnant women on the verge of the lying-in stage and sick persons, homeless and friendless, were mercilessly driven out. In illustration two examples of warning out may be cited from the early records of Boston:

> June 28, 1703. David Mellins being present Sayes he Came from Virginia by Land & hath been in this Town abt. Three weekes & hath been Lame abt. a forthnight is warned to depart this town.
>
> February 15, 1715/16. Sarah Hinks Single woman belonging to Salem who Sayes She came last from thence into this Town abt Sixteen dayes Since, and is at the House of Widdow Warren at ye South of Boston, and is reported to be with Child & nigh ready to lye in, being this day by Mr John Mayon at the direction of ye Sel. men, warned to depart out of this Town to Salem where She belongs.[3]

When a woman from Westchester came to New Haven in 1656, bringing with her a sick child in order to place it under the medical care of the renowned John Winthrop, jr., the town authorities would have driven her out if it had not been for the kindly intercession of two inhabitants who pledged security against her becoming a public charge.[4]

At times this harsh attitude toward needy strangers was tempered with some show of mercy. Witness the case of Edward Carpenter, who came to Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1716 with his family and was

[2] South Carolina, *Statutes at Large*, IV, 595; Virginia, *Statutes at Large* (Hening), IV, 208-10.

[3] Boston Registry Department, *Records relating to the Early History of Boston* (Boston, 1876-1909), XI, 33, 222.

[4] Charles H. Levermore, *The Republic of New Haven* (Baltimore, 1886), p. 104.

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warned out as a likely public charge by the selectmen. But he evidently fell sick before he could be removed, and the town supported him in his illness for some time. Early in 1718, however, when he apparently had recovered, he was bluntly ordered to "depart out of this town", and his case is closed in the town records on June 25, 1718, with this melancholy note: "This day the Selectmen have desired capt. Avery to take care to convey the goods of Edward Carpenter out of this town as cheap as he can."[5]

Unexpected kindness was occasionally extended to sick nonresidents. When a poor sick woman wandered into East Hampton, New York, in 1697, the town authorities promptly voted not to admit her as an inhabitant, but their hearts were softened, and she was permitted to stay. In succeeding years frequent and generous payments were made by the town to a number of residents for "entertayning" this woman and for providing her with food and clothing. On April 14, 1698, the town trustees voted that she "should be transported (on the Townes Account) to Oyster Bay and put to Robert Cooper for Cure". When this treatment failed, the town sent her to Flatbush in Kings County to be treated by Dr. Cornell Beatman, contracting to pay him £10 as a fee. We do not know whether the cure was finally effected, but in 1700 the town of East Hampton was still allotting generous sums for the care of this friendless stranger.[6]

Provision for medical care was of course conditioned by the available resources. Until late in the colonial period trained physicians were rare. There was little incentive for European doctors to venture to a country that was essentially inhospitable to their craft: where the people were poor and settlements sparsely populated and widely scattered; where existence was hazardous for all and disease and sudden death always hovered uncomfortably close. Some of the colonizing companies sent over physicians and barber-surgeons under contract, but many of these returned home in a short time provided death did not overtake them.

Medical practice was largely in the hands of the clergy, as it had been for ages, and there were many eminent exponents of the "evangelical conjunction" of priest-physician, including Thomas Thacher and Cotton Mather. Most civil officers had a smattering of medical knowledge, and some achieved a degree of fame in practicing the art, notably Governor John Winthrop, jr., of Connecticut, who rendered much

[5] *Early Records of the Town of Dedham, Massachusetts* (Dedham, 1886-1936), VI, 160, 164, 175, 176, 177.

[6] *Records of the Town of East Hampton, New York* (Sag-Harbor, 1887-1905), II, 383, 392, 398, 399, 400, 447, 451, 452, 458, 459, 471, 477, 482.

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gratuitous medical aid to the poor of his colony. Obstetrics remained the prerogative of the midwife until the last years of the colonial era. The Dutch settlers of New Netherland, who brought over many advanced concepts of social welfare from the progressive republic of their birth, maintained midwives on their public payrolls. There was a public midwife in New Amsterdam as early as 1633, and in 1660 one of her successors, Hellegond Joris, was paid an annual salary of 100 guilders by the city for her services in attending the poor.[7]

Besides the aforementioned there was a host of lay practitioners, male and female, from bonesetters to charlatans, peddling an infinite assortment of panaceas. For the great mass of people, kitchen physic, compounded of astrological lore, grandmother remedies—many of them of time-tested excellence—and a plentitude of superstitious ingredients, served as the medicine of the day.

The spiritual comfort of the sick was sometimes the primary concern of the community. Thus a Virginia statute of 1632 ordered that "when any person is dangerouslie sicke in any parrish, the minister havinge knowledge thereof shall resort unto him or her to instruct and comfort them in their distresse". The first charter of liberties and privileges drawn up for the Dutch colonists of New Netherland in 1629 stressed the importance of employing *sieckentroosters,* or comforters of the sick, who were charged with providing spiritual counsel and comfort to the ailing. Two *sieckentroosters* had already been sent over soon after the organization of the colony in 1624.[8] These comforters of the sick were evidently equipped with some medical knowledge in addition to religious lore. Of course, even when no specific legislative provision was made, clergymen in all the colonies generally undertook the visitation of the sick as a regular routine.

Institutional provision for the sick was rare throughout the seventeenth century. Keenly aware of the frightful mortality during the first years of settlement at Jamestown and elsewhere, the Virginia Company of London repeatedly urged its colonial representatives to build guesthouses, or hospitals, mainly for the purpose of housing newcomers until they became acclimated or "seasoned", and until more or less permanent homes could be provided for them. Such a hospital was under construction at ill-fated Henricopolis in 1612, and we hear of it in 1615, but there is reason to doubt that it ever went into operation. In any event

[7] I. N. Phelps Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York, 1915-27), I, 17, IV, 206..

[8] Virginia, *Statutes at Large* (Hening), I, 157; *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* ed. by E. B. O'Callaghan (New York, 1853-87), II, 557.

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it certainly was not functioning in 1619. The first completed guesthouse of which I have found definite record was that erected in 1621 at Jamestown under the supervision of Jabez Whitaker. In a letter to Sir Edwin Sandys in May, 1621, Captain Whitaker reported that he had installed an old woman as housekeeper for the newcomers at the guesthouse and had built "a little roome for ye surgeon yt he may be ever neere and helpfull to them". The selectmen of Boston ordered the erection of two guesthouses in 1658.[9]

The fear of contagious and infectious diseases was an ever-present and prominent factor in colonial life, and seaboard towns were forced to take early quarantine measures against the introduction and spread of disease from abroad, although lazarettos began to be built only at the turn of the eighteenth century. Temporary isolation houses were customarily hired or erected during epidemics, particularly of the dreaded smallpox. In the smaller communities the pesthouse usually was nothing more than a little cabin set deep in the woods; in the larger towns vacant buildings at the edge of town were commonly requisitioned for the emergency period. Until the eighteenth century there were few poorhouses in the colonies. Congregational almshouses were erected in several New Netherland towns, and these continued to operate long after the British conquest of 1664. Boston built a public almshouse in 1662. Here the sick and infirm found some degree of shelter and care.

The only true hospitals existing in the colonies up to the founding of the Pennsylvania Hospital in 1751 were lazarettos and military hospitals, some of which also received sick Negro slaves.

In the absence of special institutions for their care the sick poor were customarily provided for in their own homes or boarded out elsewhere. The kind of relief they received might be classed under two major heads: material aid and medical care. Colonial records abound with cases where the sick poor were granted only such material relief as was required for their sustenance, no special provision being made with regard to their ailment. This was especially true of communities where physicians were unavailable or scarce. At other times physicians or skilled laymen and women were called in to treat the patient at public expense.

In view of the prejudice against women practitioners of medicine until recent decades it is interesting to note the almost complete absence

[9] Alexander Brown, *The First Republic in America* (Boston, 1898), pp. 156, 377-78; Edward D. Neill, *History of the Virginia Company of London* (Albany, 1869), pp. 138, 230, 233-34, 284, 391-92; *Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington, 1906-35), I, 508, 512, II, 441; Boston Registry Department, *Early Boston Records*, II, 148.

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of such prejudice among our colonial forebears. Green, the medical historian of Massachusetts, quotes the following entry in the Roxbury church records of November 27, 1665: "Mrs. Sarah Alcock dyed, a vertuous woman, of unstained life, very skilful in physick and shirurgery, exceeding active in ministering to ye necessities of others. Her workes praise here in ye gates." The records of St. Peter's Parish, Kent County, Virginia, for the early eighteenth century contain a number of authorizations for payment to women practitioners for treating public charges. For example, payments were made "To Sarah Broker as part of her fee for bringing Cath. Taylor to bed" and "curing Jo'n Moone's Leg"; "To Hannah Pearson for curing Amey Binns" and "curing Andrew Farney's Leg". When a poor man of Bristol Parish was burned in an accident, he was placed under the care of Mary Hall, who was directed to "do her Endeavor to Cure him" at public expense. In 1735 the vestrymen of St. George's Parish in Virginia paid 1,000 pounds of tobacco to a Mrs. Livingston for "salivating a poor woman, and promising to cure her again if she should be sick in twelve month".[10]

When convenient, patients dependent on public support were boarded out at the physician's home while under treatment. At other times they were boarded with private families as close to the doctor's home as possible. On occasion public expenditures for a single patient required some complicated bookkeeping. For example, the Providence, Rhode Island, town treasurer's report for January, 1716, showed the town to be debtor to several persons for "ye reliefe of Samuel Meeds". Town obligations included payment to one man for boarding Meeds seventeen weeks, to another for entertaining him in "the time of his Lameness", to still another for keeping him for an unspecified period, to Dr. John Jenckes for "ye Cure of his Greate toe", and finally to Benjamin Whipple for keeping Meeds's horse for thirteen weeks.[11]

Boarding out with neighbors was the most common method of disposing of the sick poor. Sometimes the latter were subjected to a process known as "boarding round the town". Thus Thomas Elgarr, a sick ex-soldier, went the rounds of the town of Hadley, Massachusetts, for sixty-five weeks prior to January, 1685, boarding with thirty-two different persons, each of whom entertained him at town expense, for a period

[10] Wyndham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century* (Richmond, 1931), p. 372 (Dr. Blanton's excellent work contains many references to the medical care of the poor in that colony); Philip Slaughter, *History of St. George's Parish, Spotsylvania County, Va.* (Richmond, 1890), p. 18.

[11] Providence Record Commissioners, *Early Records of the Town of Providence* (Providence, 1892-1915), XVII, 290-93.

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ranging from one to three weeks, at the rate of 4*s*. a week. Two years later the same town voted to maintain a poor, infirm widow by sending her from house to house, from "Samuel Porter, senior, southward, and round the town".[12]

A distinctive feature of colonial provision for the sick poor was its highly unsystematic character. Individual cases were disposed of as they arose, in a manner that seemed most expedient at the moment. Dependent patients might be boarded out for specified periods ranging from a few days to weeks, months, years, or even for a lifetime in cases where recovery was considered improbable. When James Turner petitioned the vestry of St. Peter's Parish, Virginia, for help in 1744, deposing that he had spent all his substance on physicians and necessities during several years of lameness and sickness, the vestrymen contracted with one Samuel Waddy to provide board and lodging for the sick man for life, in return for which he was to be paid 1,200 pounds of tobacco annually out of the public treasury.[13] Towns occasionally made lump-sum payments to certain persons who agreed to take care of a sick pauper indefinitely, ridding the town of responsibility forever.

The gambling element was often introduced into contracts between public officials and physicians for the treatment of the sick poor. In 1667 the vestrymen of Christ Church Parish, Virginia, voted to pay 5,000 pounds of tobacco to Dr. Rose "provided that he make a perfect Cure of Jno Blake a poore Decriped Man of this parish". The case proved a protracted one; it is recorded four years later that no tobacco be paid to Dr. Rose "Untill John Blaikes Leggs be perfectly Cured". The vestrymen of the same parish in 1683 authorized Dr. William Poole to take to his home one Christopher Goulder and to try to cure him of his blindness. If he succeeded he was to be paid 2,000 pounds of tobacco, but if he failed he was to have "but Reasonable Sattisfaction for his Trouble". The physician failed to restore the poor man's sight and had to be satisfied with 1,000 pounds for his efforts. A similar contract was made by the vestrymen of Petsworth Parish in 1691, when 1,500 pounds of tobacco were promised Dr. David Alexander if he cured a parish charge of his "distemper". The patient died, and Dr. Alexander received only 1,000 pounds in payment.[14]

[12] Sylvester Judd, *History of Hadley* (Springfield, 1905), p. 234.

[13] St. Peter's Parish, New Kent County, Virginia, *Vestry Book and Register, 1684-1786* (Richmond, 1937), pp. 194-96.

[14] Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County, Virginia, *Vestry Book, 1663-1767* (Richmond, 1927), pp. 9, 10, 17; Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County, Virginia, *Vestry Book, 1677-1793* (Richmond, 1933), pp. 32, 33.

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On occasion patients were bound out to their physicians for a stated period of service as total or partial payment for their treatment. Peter Tollman was a noted lay practitioner of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, who was frequently called upon to attend the sick poor. In 1660 he contracted with the authorities of Warwick to attend a public charge of that town. He was to treat her at Portsmouth for one month, Warwick paying for her board and lodging during that time. If no improvement was discernible at the end of the month, Tollman was to have nothing for his pains. If, however, the patient did improve, she was to be taken into Tollman's home for further treatment. Should a cure be effected, the practitioner was to secure the services of the patient for two years unless some person in the meantime would pay him £10 for her freedom.[15]

The authorities of Somerset County, Maryland, in 1667 gave Robert Hart 600 pounds of tobacco for taking care of John Waerum, "a decreepit Lad", with the added proviso that the boy was to serve Hart for three full years "upon the Cure being made perfect". Dr. Godfrey Spruill of St. Paul's Parish, Chowan Precinct, North Carolina, was offered £5 by the authorities in 1703 for treating a sick indigent woman, who was to be obliged to serve the doctor "for the use of his House and nursing".[16]

An interesting variant of this pattern is revealed in the Maryland records of 1668, when the Kent County court ordered Edward Hull to set free his servant, Matthias Smith, "in Consideration of his Curing of his legg and to pay him his Corne and Clothes". The master had evidently offered the servant his freedom if he succeeded in curing his ailment.[17]

While dwelling on this aspect of early care of the sick poor, I should like to cite a curious law passed by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1782, authorizing the Philadelphia justices of the peace to bind out to servitude, upon recovery, those persons who "by their own lewdness, drunkenness or other evil practice, have fallen sick and become chargeable to the said city". Such sick poor were to be indentured for a period of not more than three years to any master or mistress offering to pay the overseers of the poor reasonable compensation for their services.[18]

As indicated in the foregoing illustrations, the fees paid to regular physicians for attending public charges varied widely. At times pay-

[15] Margaret Creech, *Three Centuries of Poor Law Administration* (Chicago, 1936), p. 82.

[16] *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883—), LIV, 690; *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Goldsboro, 1886-1907), I, 569.

[17] *Archives of Maryland*, LIV, 248.

[18] Pennsylvania, *Statutes at Large*, X, 404.

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ment took the form of partial or total remission of taxes. Thus the rate of Dr. Henry Taylor, a Boston surgeon, was remitted in 1669 in consideration of his curing a poor woman and his "promise of attendance for the yeare ensuinge upon any poore, sicke, or hurt in the towne". Sometimes the authorities found it convenient to pay a physician not only for the treatment but for the burial of the patient. Witness the laconic note in the records of a Virginia parish for 1732: "Order'd that Doctr Thompson be pd 425 Tobo for his care and Buriall of Arther Mcclain". Prominent physicians were occasionally engaged and paid relatively handsome fees. In 1762 the city of New York paid the eminent Dr. John Bard £7 for "Delivering a Woman in the poor House".[19]

While poor relief was generally a local responsibility, the burden of aiding indigents, particularly strangers having no settlement within its borders, sometimes fell on the colonial government. In 1645 Thomas Oliver, a church elder who practiced physic on the side, successfully petitioned the Massachusetts general court for £12 as payment for his twenty months' attendance on a poor person afflicted with "ye disease called ye kings evill". A more complicated case is found in the Massachusetts records for the following year, when the colonial authorities placed under Mr. Oliver's care the ailing son of Pessicus, a sachem of a neighboring Indian tribe. The boy was boarded with a Mrs. David in order to be near Oliver while under treatment, and this woman was paid for her trouble out of the colonial treasury. On May 26, 1647, the general court, noting that "Mr. Oliver, haveing had Pessicus his sonne in cure of a fistula about 20 weekes, wch being now accomplished (through the blessing of ye Lord)", ordered the colony treasurer to compensate him. Apparently the authorities expected reimbursement from the patient's father, for on several occasions during the next year they sent Benedict Arnold to dun Pessicus for corn toward the full payment of his debt to the treasury. The colony was determined to collect, and it probably plagued Pessicus till it did so.

When an indigent seaman named Clarke took sick in 1667, he was boarded with inhabitants at provincial expense. Later he was placed under the care of the eminent practitioner, Dr. John Endicott, who submitted a bill of £3 5*s*. for his services in performing a cure.[20]

The Massachusetts general court was frequently petitioned for aid by

[19] Boston Registry Department, *Early Boston Records,* VII, 51; Bristol Parish, Prince George County, Virginia, *Vestry Book and Register, 1720-1789* (Richmond, 1898), p. 65; New York City, *Minutes of the Common Council, 1675-1776* (New York, 1905), VI, 289.

[20] Samuel A. Green, *History of Medicine in Massachusetts* (Boston, 1881), p. 48; *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England* (Boston, 1853-54), II, 185, 195, 198, 231, IV, Part 2, 335, 348, 378, 411.

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needy individuals. Such an appeal was received in 1647 from John Heyden, who was ill and had a son "bereaved of his sences". The general court replied that if the petitioner's parish or town were unable to support its poor, it should itself ask for provincial help, in which case it would be granted. The colonial government was extremely generous in the case of a penniless Boston widow, Mrs. Cole, who was visited with "a longe & sore sicknes". When Mrs. Cole petitioned it for help in 1650, the general court voted to give her £20. In May, 1651, the court ordered that Dr. Samuel Oliver be paid £8 14*s.* for treating Mrs. Cole, and during the next year it again compensated several persons who provided her with medical care and maintenance.[21]

For some years the poor of South Carolina, sick and well alike, were a charge on the province. In 1695 an act was passed creating colony-wide commissioners of the poor, in whose hands were to be placed private donations for charitable purposes together with an annual grant from the public treasury not exceeding £10. On October 8, 1698, the colonial treasurer was authorized to make the following payments under the terms of this act: $18 to Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Burroughs "for six-weekes Dyett & for Nursing a Poore Miserable wounded man"; $30 to Francis Fiddling "for Eight weekes Dyett and Nursing as allsoe for ye Buriall of a Poore wounded Seaman"; and $24 to Dr. George Franklin "for Medicines and attendance on a Poore wounded Seaman". The office of commissioners of the poor was abolished by an act of 1712, which made the care of the poor a parish responsibility and authorized the appointment of churchwardens and overseers of the poor to administer public relief.[22]

The sick poor occasionally were the beneficiaries of very generous consideration. Sometimes they were even sent to health resorts at public expense. Vestry records in a Virginia parish contain this interesting item, dated 1744: "Ordered that the Church Wardens agree with some Person on the best terms they can to carry Richd Sentale to the Spring on New River for the Recovery of his health". The Maryland assembly in 1698 enacted a law providing for the establishment of houses for the sick poor at Cool Springs in St. Mary's County.[23]

There are several cases in the colonial records where the public

[21] *Ibid.*, II, 199, III, 217, 231, 256, 276, 335.

[22] South Carolina, *Statutes at Large*, II, 116, 135, 593; *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina for the Two Sessions of 1698* (reprints, Columbia, 1914), p. 26.

[23] St. Peter's Parish, New Kent County, Virginia, *Vestry Book*, p. 116; *Archives of Maryland*, XXII, 279.

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authorities agreed to pay the transportation expenses of needy applicants to permit them to travel to another province or country for medical treatment. In 1681 the Maryland assembly voted to grant 2,042 pounds of tobacco to Francis Burton of Calvert County "to carry him for England for cure of a Wound received in his Lord: Ships Service". A curious petition dated June 18, 1688, was addressed to Governor Andros by William Hutchins, an inhabitant of New Hampshire. The petitioner stated that he had been afflicted for six years with scrofula, or the king's evil, that he had consulted without success "ye Most Learned & Scilfulest phisitians" and was now poverty-stricken. He ardently desired to go to England to receive the "King's touch"—in accordance with the popular notion that the royal touch was a certain remedy for scrofula—but lacked the necessary funds and therefore begged the governor to start a public subscription to raise the requisite transportation expenses.[24]

An interesting instance of a special tax being imposed on the inhabitants of a town for the support of a particular sick person occurs in the records of Providence for 1693, when a rate was levied to support Edward London, who had fallen into dependency because of "imbercillity and decrippedness". London was boarded out with a townsman, who agreed to find him "meat, drink, washing and lodging", and the town paid for the unfortunate man's maintenance until his death, somewhat less than a year later.[25]

Contracts with practitioners for the care and treatment of the sick poor, as has been indicated, were at first made on an individual case basis. It became customary for some towns to turn over such cases to a particular practitioner, often because he was the only one available. Thus Thomas Oliver was receiving payments regularly in the 1640's from the town of Boston for attendance on the sick poor and also from the Massachusetts Bay Colony for treating persons regarded as colony charges. Beginning with 1662 Dr. Daniel Stone appears in the Boston records frequently for administering physic to the sick poor. The same may be said of certain physicians in the other colonies.[26]

With the passage of time and the steady increase of population in the larger towns, it became troublesome for the public authorities to make separate provision for each case of sickness. It was much more

[24] *Ibid.*, VII, 187; Green, p. 48.

[25] Providence Record Commissioners, *Early Records of the Town of Providence,* IX, 2, 3, 6, 8.

[26] Boston Registry Department, *Early Boston Records,* II, 81, 89, VII, 12, 64, 162; *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay,* II, 185, 195.

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expedient and economical to contract with a single doctor to undertake to treat all the sick poor of the community on a flat salary basis. Hence the rise of the town physician. Dr. Stone became Boston's first official medical ministrant to the poor in 1671. The selectmen's minutes for November 29, 1671, state that: "Upon the motion of Doctr Daniell Stone for pay for Chirurgery & phisicke administered to severall poore of this town the select men see cause to abate him his rate this yeare for what is done for the time past; & doe further now agree with him for 12 moneths next cominge from the first of March next, to take care of the poore of this towne as to phisicke & chirurgery, for which he is to have 20s. out of the towne treasurey & to be rate free the next yeare." This annual contract was renewed several times in ensuing years.[27]

Other large towns in the colonies made similar provision for the sick poor. In Albany, where the Dutch congregational system of relief persisted long after the surrender of New Netherland, Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck was paid 100 guilders in 1665 as his annual salary for medical services to the congregational poor. Johannes Kerfbyle, a prominent physician who had studied at Leyden, was appointed in 1687 to attend the poor in New York City at an annual salary of £5, and he was still holding the post of town physician twelve years later. Jacob Provoost became city physician to the poor in 1713 at a yearly salary of £8. In 1717 Cadwallader Colden, who later served as governor of New York province, petitioned the Pennsylvania assembly for the post of town physician to the poor of Philadelphia. It was in this petition, incidentally, that he presented his plan for the introduction of a systematic lecture course in medicine, the first proposal of its kind in America. St. Philip's Parish in Charleston, South Carolina, hired Dr. John Turner in 1733 to take care of the parish poor at a stated salary.[28]

It is difficult to see how this system of contracting with a single physician for the care of all the local poor at a fixed salary could have worked to the advantage of the needy sick. The salary in most cases was so low as to be merely nominal; often no extra funds were provided for necessary medicines or other supplies; the modest flat rate proved no incentive to energetic efforts; and it must have required an inner

[27] Boston Registry Department, *Early Boston Records,* VII, 64, 76.

[28] Joel Munsell, ed., *Collections on the History of Albany* (Albany, 1865-71), I, 2; New York City, *Minutes of the Common Council, 1675-1776,* I, 206, II, 68; New York City, *Minutes of the Mayor's Court* (MS.), June 9, 1713; Francis R. Packard, *History of Medicine in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 286; Joseph I. Waring, "St. Philip's Hospital in Charleston in Carolina", *Annals of Medical History,* New Series, IV (1932), 284.

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humanitarian urge and an unusual amount of interest for the town or parish doctor even to try to fulfill his contract conscientiously. As it happened, in very few instances was a single physician able to take care of all the sick poor, and localities had to call upon other doctors constantly to treat individual poor patients at public charge, long after the contract or "farming out" system had gone into effect.

We have already alluded to the custom of requisitioning vacant houses, particularly at the outskirts of town, for the temporary care of persons sick with infectious and contagious diseases. For those unable to pay for their care, nurses and "watchers" were often hired at town expense. Thus in June, 1702, the selectmen of Boston were authorized to "impress" the house formerly belonging to Goodman Cobbets for the "entertaining" of John Jenkins's Negro slave, who was believed to be infected with smallpox. Two men were paid 7*s*. 6*d*. each for "their three days & night watching & warding at the House where Mr. Jenkins his negro Lay Sick". Two months later Thomas Davis was paid 20*s*. by the town of Boston for watching at the house where a man afflicted with smallpox lay for fifteen days. When Ester, an Indian squaw, took sick with smallpox in Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1722, the town authorities sent to Roxbury for a male nurse, who attended Ester until her death four days later. The town paid 20*s*. to the nurse and 5*s*. to the man who "fetched" him from Roxbury. In the same year an Indian named Simon was nursed at town expense through a siege of smallpox which also terminated fatally. The Dedham records show that the authorities paid Anthony Dyer 25*s*. for nursing poor Simon, Joseph Colburn 7*s*. for "relieving" both the patient and his nurse, Henry Bealy 2*s*. for fetching the nurse from Roxbury, and John Hunting 1*s*. 2*d*. for the use of his horse on that occasion.[29]

Severe epidemics which disabled or killed many breadwinners and left helpless widows and orphans in their wake created special problems of poor relief. The burden of providing for the sick poor and destitute survivors in such emergencies sometimes proved too heavy for towns to bear alone, and they had to obtain special assistance from the provincial government. When a great yellow fever epidemic broke out in New York City in 1702 the provincial assembly, noting that "the number and necessitys of the Poor were much increased" as a result of "the late Calamitous Distemper", enacted a special law permitting the city authorities to raise the poor rates from the existing level of £150 to

[29] Boston Registry Department, *Early Boston Records*, XI, 23, 24, 25; *Early Records of Dedham, Massachusetts*, VI, 217, 218, 220.

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£300. During the devastating smallpox epidemic of 1721 in Boston, the Massachusetts general court granted £1,000 to the afflicted city toward the relief of the many persons "reduced to very great straights by reason of the epidemic".[30] It was during this pestilence that Cotton Mather made his famous espousal of inoculation. As this practice won increasing acceptance in the face of bitter hostility, so-called inoculation hospitals, where persons were inoculated and kept under observation for a short period, sprang up in different parts of colonial America.

An interesting development in the last years of the colonial era grew out of a smallpox epidemic that struck Philadelphia in the winter of 1774. It was noted that the chief victims of this visitation were children of the poor, who could not afford the expense of inoculation. As a result a group of philanthropic men formed a "Society for Inoculating the Poor Gratis", enlisting the aid of eight prominent Philadelphia physicians in the enterprise. This society functioned until September, 1774, when the practice of free inoculation for the poor was discontinued because of the opposition of certain delegates to the Continental Congress, who feared the spread of smallpox through extensive inoculation.[31]

The existence of a public almshouse in Boston and of congregational poorhouses in New Netherland in the seventeenth century has already been noted. It was not until the eighteenth century was well on its way, however, that the need for such institutions made itself generally felt. By that time there were large flourishing communities in the colonies, particularly the seaport towns, in which life had become too complicated to permit casual provision for the sick poor and other needy persons. Permanent, carefully regulated institutions for the poor were now seen as a pressing necessity; crude forms of outdoor relief could no longer be the sole resort. Agitation for poorhouses rose in increasing volume in the early years of the century, culminating in an important bustle of almshouse building during the 1730's, when new institutions were erected in Philadelphia (1732), New York (1736), Charleston, South Carolina (1736), and Boston (1739). The town of Newport, Rhode Island, had built a poorhouse in 1723.[32]

[30] *Colonial Laws of New York* (Albany, 1894), I, 507-508; *Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1869-1922), X, 123.

[31] Thomas J. Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), II, 1475-76.

[32] *Ibid.*, I, 205-206; New York City, *Minutes of the Common Council, 1675-1776*, IV, 308-309; South Carolina, *Statutes at Large*, VII, 90; Boston Registry Department, *Early Boston Records*, XII, 160-62, 180-82; Samuel G. Arnold, *History of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1894), II, 74.

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Plans for the institutional care of the needy at this time were usually based on the Elizabethan poor law of 1601, which had been drafted by Francis Bacon. This historic statute had distinguished three classes of public dependents: the poor who were unable to work because of sickness, age, or infirmity; the ablebodied poor who wanted work but could get none; and the ablebodied poor who neither had employment nor wanted it. According to the ideal Elizabethan system these three classes were to be carefully separated in three types of institutions: an infirmary for the first, a workhouse for the second, and a house of correction for the third. This ideal separation, however, was no more realized in America than it was in England. All three classes of the poor were customarily brought under one roof in the mixed almshouse or workhouse—the mentally and physically ill, the impotent and the ablebodied, the "vicious" and the "virtuous". The New York City institution was appropriately named the "House of Correction, Workhouse and Poor House"; that in Charleston had the shorter title, "Workhouse and Hospital".

In the New York almshouse a designated part of the building was set aside for the special care of the sick, the original rules committee having decided that "the upper room at the West End of the said House be suitably furnished for an Infirmary and for no other Use whatsoever". The rules and regulations adopted for the Boston institution in 1739 ordered that "when any Persons are taken Sick, they shall be removed into the Alms-House, if it may be done with safety, and be put under the Care of said House till further Orders; But if a removal shall be judg'd dangerous, then they shall have a Nurse, and the Town's physician to attend them where they are". In other words, all the sick poor of Boston were to be institutionalized in the almshouse unless removal from their own homes was deemed dangerous, in which case they were to receive medical care in their own homes.[33]

Several of these almshouses had regular salaried physicians in attendance from the start. Dr. John van Buren, a graduate of the medical school at Leyden, was the first almshouse physician in New York City, holding that post for thirty years at a salary of £100 per annum. He was succeeded by his son, Dr. Beekman van Buren, who served until 1784. Dr. John Lining apparently was the first physician at the St. Philip's Parish poorhouse in Charleston, being succeeded in 1740 by Dr. Joseph Gaultier. This medical officer in Charleston was commonly

[33] New York City, *Minutes of the Common Council, 1675-1776,* IV, 309; Boston Registry Department, *Early Boston Records,* XII, 237.

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referred to as the parish doctor, later as physician and surgeon to the parish and transient poor.[34]

Out of the infirmaries maintained in these early poorhouses at least three of our great municipal hospitals had their origin and early development—the Philadelphia General Hospital, Bellevue Hospital in New York, and the Boston City Hospital.

In those days, however, as indeed for many decades afterward, the almshouse treatment of the poor—both sick and well—was largely characterized by ignorance, neglect, and brutality. There was as yet no permanent public institution designed especially for the reception and care of the sick poor. The first institution of this kind in the original thirteen colonies was the Pennsylvania Hospital, founded in 1751. Its establishment was accomplished largely through the humane initiative of Dr. Thomas Bond of Philadelphia and the promoting genius of Benjamin Franklin. The project was undoubtedly patterned after the voluntary hospitals then springing up throughout England, but it was far superior to the latter institutions both in plan and purpose. It was intended primarily for the treatment of the sick poor and the insane of the province. The preamble of the act of establishment, passed by the Pennsylvania legislature on May 6, 1751, declared that "the saving and restoring useful and laborious Members to a Community is a Work of publick Service, and the Relief of the Sick Poor is not only an Act of Humanity, but a religious Duty". It also noted that "there are frequently in many parts of this Province poor distempered Persons, who languish long in Pain and Misery, under various Disorders of Body and Mind, and being scattered abroad in different and very distant Habitations, cannot have the Benefit of regular advice, Attendance, Lodging, Diet and Medicines but at great Expense, and therefore often suffer for Want thereof".[35]

The assembly voted a grant of £2,000 toward the building of the hospital provided that a like amount were raised by private subscription. Thanks largely to the persuasive powers of Franklin, this condition was soon fulfilled. A temporary hospital was opened in 1752 in a private house in Philadelphia hired for that purpose, pending the completion of a permanent building. Three prominent physicians—Thomas and Phineas Bond and Lloyd Zachary—volunteered to serve the hospital

[34] D. T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York, 1862* (New York, 1862), p. 658; Waring, *An. Medical Hist.*, IV, 285.

[35] Benjamin Franklin, *Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital* (Philadelphia, 1754), pp. 8-9.

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gratis and even supplied their own medicines without reimbursement until December, 1752, when medical supplies were purchased in London and paid for by subscriptions of "the charitable Widows, and other good Women" of Philadelphia.[36] The permanent building was completed and opened in 1756, receiving its first patients from the Philadelphia poor lists. Although aided by public grants, the hospital was privately controlled, as it still is today.

In taking cognizance of the plight of the insane and affording the first provision for their hospital care and treatment in colonial America, the progenitors of the Pennsylvania Hospital made a signal contribution to medical humanitarianism. Attitudes toward and treatment of the mentally sick during the colonial period had been characterized chiefly by callous indifference, superstitious ignorance, fear, and cruelty. Public provision for the insane poor was usually extended only to those who were considered too dangerous to be left at large. The latter were frequently chained in specially devised kennels and cages like wild beasts, confined in workhouse dungeons or strong rooms, or thrown into jails and bridewells like common criminals. Those considered harmless were often permitted to wander about like Tom o' Bedlams, sometimes stark naked and often semistarved, the prey to the cruel jests of any town bravo seeking relief from boredom by lunatic baiting. Many were driven from place to place like lepers and subjected to brutal whippings at the instance of hostile town authorities. Medical care for this class was rare up to the end of the colonial period, and effective treatment was rarer still. The humane consideration for the mentally ill shown by the founders of the Pennsylvania Hospital marked a milestone in both social welfare and psychiatry in America.

The next great step in the annals of the sick poor in America was the enactment in 1769 of a statute by the Virginia legislature "to make provision for the Support and Maintenance of Ideots, Lunatics and other persons of unsound Minds".[37] This act established the first American hospital exclusively for the mentally sick. Opened at Williamsburg in 1773 as the Public Hospital for Persons of Insane and Disordered Minds (now known as the Eastern State Hospital of Virginia), the insane poor were received and treated here, along with pay patients.[38]

[36] Thomas G. Morton, *History of the Pennsylvania Hospital* (Philadelphia, 1895), pp. 28, 267.

[37] Virginia, *Statutes at Large* (Hening), VIII, 378-81.

[38] I have confined myself here to a very bare sketch of the care and treatment of the insane poor in colonial times, inasmuch as I have already treated this aspect of the subject in detail in the early chapters of my book, *The Mentally Ill in America.*

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An abortive effort to build a general hospital in South Carolina was launched in 1769 with the incorporation of the Fellowship Society for the purpose of erecting a "convenient infirmary or hospital for affording relief to distressed persons in this Province, whose unhappy circumstances deprive them of the benefit of lodging, advice, medicine and regular attendance".[39] For some reason this society, which had existed for seven years before its formal incorporation, failed to achieve the desired goal and later turned its attention toward providing free education for poor children.

In the same eventful year of 1769 young Dr. Samuel Bard delivered his famous commencement address at King's College (now Columbia University) in New York City, in which he outlined a project for a hospital for "the Reception of the poor Sick of this Government and City". The movement initiated by this address resulted in the founding, in 1771, of the New York Hospital, the second general hospital in the colonies. Only the establishment of this hospital belongs to the colonial period, for a series of catastrophes delayed its opening until 1791.[40]

This article has dealt almost exclusively with public provision for the sick poor, omitting the private efforts of such socioreligious groups as the Quakers and the activities of the Scots' Charitable Society, the Deutsche Gesellschaft of Philadelphia, and other immigrant aid societies.

In summing up, the following lines of development may be traced in the colonial provision for the sick poor: (1) granting only material relief to the needy sick in their own homes or in private families where they were boarded out; (2) providing nursing or medical care in the patient's own home or in the house of a practitioner paid by the public treasury on an individual case basis; (3) farming out the medical care of all the poor of a community to a particular physician on a salary basis; (4) maintaining the sick poor in mixed almshouses or workhouses, with varying degrees of special medical care; (5) confining the insane poor in jails and other places intended primarily for penal purposes; and (6) establishing general or special hospitals for the reception and treatment of the sick poor. It is not to be inferred that these steps followed one another in strict chronological order.

Despite its primitive crudities and occasional barbarities, there is one positive factor discernible in the colonial care of the sick poor: the

[39] South Carolina, *Statutes at Large*, VIII, 112-13.

[40] Samuel Bard, *A Discourse upon the Duties of a Physician, with Some Sentiments on the Usefulness and Necessity of a Public Hospital* (New York, 1769); Society of the New York Hospital, *An Account of the New York Hospital* (New York, 1811), pp. 3-5.

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principle implicit in the Elizabethan poor law that society is responsible for providing for its helpless and disabled members was generally recognized if but feebly applied. Toward the end of the colonial era the shift in emphasis from governmental responsibility to private enterprise in social welfare was already evident, and this shift continued steadily in later years until private philanthropy became for some time a dominant factor in provision for the sick poor.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

Erich Bollmann at Vienna in 1815

The standard works on American foreign policy, whether of a general or specialized nature, say scarcely a word about the Congress of Vienna. The congress was devoted almost exclusively to the affairs of Central Europe, and while the United States cared deeply about Passamaquoddy Bay and Nootka Sound, the Polish-Saxon question left the State Department cold. No regular diplomatic channels existed as yet between Washington and Vienna.[1] The American consulate established at Trieste in 1799 was temporarily vacant. The United States made its own peace with England in the relative seclusion of Ghent, while Europe's statesmen wrangled and rollicked at Vienna.

The United States government, to be sure, had not been totally unaware of the desirability of having an observer at Vienna. But William Shaler, who was attached to the Ghent commission with instructions "to repair without any *ostensible* public character to any congress which is, or may be holden by the Ministers of the belligerent powers negotiating a general peace", never got to the seat of the congress. The Ghent commission, after noting "certain indiscretions of vanity in him [Shaler] which showed he was not well qualified for such a mission", voted not to send him.[2] So far as is known, no one was sent to Vienna in his place.

Yet the United States was in a certain sense represented at Vienna, and by none other than Justus Erich Bollmann, sometime would-be rescuer of Lafayette from the prison of Olmütz, ex-Burr conspirator, businessman, economist, chemist, doctor of medicine, and withal a man of the world.[3]

[1] All attempts by Austria to negotiate a commercial treaty with the United States had broken down; Hubert Van Houtte and Edmund C. Burnett, "American Commercial Conditions, and Negotiations with Austria, 1783-1786", *American Historical Review*, XVI (1911), 567-87; Hanns Schlitter, *Die Beziehungen Oesterreichs zu den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, Part I, 1778-1787 (Innsbruck, 1885). The public catalogue of the Library of Congress indicates that Schlitter never carried out his intention to continue this study down to the year 1831.

[2] Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1874-77), III, 53 ff.; Henry M. Wriston, *Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations* (Baltimore, 1929), p. 572, n.

[3] Isaac J. Cox's sketch of Bollmann in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-37, II, 421-22) makes no mention of the fact that Bollmann was at Vienna

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German by birth and upbringing, Bollmann had resided in the United States since 1795, and for a time he had enjoyed considerable prestige in his adopted land. At Philadelphia he built up a prosperous export-import business in German goods and colonial wares.[4] He profited by his continued connection with Lafayette, and through Lafayette he was brought to the notice of men like Madison and Jefferson. Jefferson "offered him two different appointments of value", the consulate at Rotterdam and the commercial agency at Santo Domingo.[5] Then Bollmann's luck changed. The European war had brought his business to bankruptcy in 1803, and in the attempt to recoup his fortunes he became involved with Burr. The denouement came when Bollmann was sent from New Orleans in chains to stand trial before the Supreme Court of the United States in a case which has become celebrated.[6] "Be assured he is unworthy of ever occupying again the care of any honest man", Jefferson informed Lafayette.

The next few years were difficult ones for Bollmann; but he was a man of diverse talents, and he experimented in chemistry, made artificial flowers, and interested himself in the new steamboats.[7] More significantly he wrote a good deal on economic questions. He sent his pamphlets to important people such as the Barings and President Madison.[8] A spirited "Vindication of Foreign Commerce", which appeared in *The Emporium of Arts and Sciences* in December, 1813, in reply to an article by the editor, Dr. Thomas Cooper, professor of chemistry, mineralogy, etc., at Dickinson College, revealed Bollmann's intense hope to see the foreign trade of the United States greatly expanded and incidentally

while the congress was in session. Nor is there any indication that Professor Cox knew of Friedrich Kapp's biography entitled *J. E. Bollmann* (Berlin, 1880) or of K. A. Varnhagen von Ense's valuable essay on Bollmann in his *Denkwürdigkeiten* (Leipzig, 1843-59), Vol. IV. There is a considerable literature on the attempted rescue of Lafayette. In addition to Kapp the following may be noted: Max Büdinger, "Lafayette in Oesterreich", *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Vol. XCII (Vienna, 1878); Samuel Flagg Bemis, "The United States and Lafayette", *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine,* Vol. LVIII (1924); Jules Thomas, *Correspondance inédite de Lafayette, 1793-1801* (Paris, n. d.).

[4] Kapp, pp. 319, 320.

[5] Gilbert Chinard, ed., *The Letters of Lafayette and Jefferson* (Baltimore, 1929), p. 261; *Dictionary of American Biography,* II, 421-22.

[6] Walter Flavius McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy* (New York, 1936); Albert J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall* (Boston, 1916-19), Vol. III; Henry Adams, *History of the United States during the Administration of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1930), Vol. II.

[7] Kapp, pp. 354-56, 365-66.

[8] Bollmann to Madison, Philadelphia, Dec. 23, 1810, Madison Papers, Library of Congress.

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throws light on the purposes which in a short time were to cause him to journey to Europe. Jefferson, for one, was not at all impressed by Bollmann's arguments, as is evident from the following passage in a letter to Dr. Cooper:

> . . . Bollmann's medley on Political Economy . . . is the work of one who sees a little of everything, and the whole of nothing; and were it not for your own notes on it, a sentence of which throws more just light on the subject than all his pages, we should regret the place it occupies of more useful matter. The bringing our countrymen to a sound comparative estimate of the vast value of internal commerce, and the disproportionate importance of what is foreign, is the most salutary effort which can be made for the prosperity of these states, which are entirely misled from their true interests by the infection of English prejudices, and illicit attachments to English interests and connections.[9]

The distaste which the Elder Statesman of Republicanism had expressed both for the person and ideas of the erstwhile conspirator was reciprocated by Bollmann in his attitude toward the Republican party, its leadership, and all that it stood for. "The incompetency at Washington passes all bounds of imagination", he informed his brother on July 14, 1814. "Madison, overwhelmed by age, weakness, and old womanishness, verges on idiocy. . . . The country is so rascalified from the influence of Jeffersonianism and Jacobinism, that neither an idea nor an individual is any longer available around which to rally."[10]

Two days after this outburst Bollmann departed for Europe: "Objects . . . of a private nature" caused him to undertake a journey to England and to Paris, where he expected to "remain . . . for some Time". It was not long, however, before he was dabbling in public affairs. He tarried a few days in London and "was requested in writing to come to the Treasury Chambers", where he conferred with Charles Arbuthnot, secretary to the treasury. Arbuthnot was impressed by Bollmann's arguments for bringing the war between England and the United States to a quick end: he gave Bollmann "a private letter for Lord Castlereagh". This letter was to clear the way for Bollmann to present his views directly to the English foreign minister.[11]

Lord Castlereagh was already in Vienna, and Bollmann proposed to follow him there. Bollmann's original projects had thus been perceptibly

[9] Andrew A. Lipscomb, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington, 1903-1904), XIV, 60-61.

[10] Kapp, p. 372.

[11] Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Papers of James A. Bayard, 1796-1815, Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for the year 1913, II (Washington, 1915), 318-19, 330, 341.

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expanded. He was no longer merely interested, even ostensibly, in imparting to "the chymists and mecanicians of Europe his discoveries in rendering zinc maleable". He had his letter for Lord Castlereagh in Vienna, and, in addition, after consulting the House of Baring, he had decided to explore the possibilities of exploiting Austrian quicksilver for the American trade and of establishing a steamship line on the Danube. When he appeared in Paris and informed W. H. Crawford, the American minister to France, of these projects, the Republican diplomat was filled with suspicion and warned the Ghent commissioners that Bollmann was "the minister of mischief to the United States".[12]

Some of the Ghent commissioners, however, did not share Crawford's misgivings: this was notably true of James A. Bayard. "As the virtual leader of the Southern Federalists", Bayard shared Bollmann's general political outlook, and the two men were, besides, personally acquainted. Bollmann had brought to Bayard letters from America, and the two men remained in active correspondence after Bollmann went to Vienna. Upon at least one occasion Bayard made definite inquiries about certain questions of interest to the Ghent commissioners, and Bollmann answered with precise and accurate information.[13]

Although Bollmann, after the Lafayette escapade, had been released from an Austrian prison upon the understanding that he would never again set foot on Habsburg soil, no difficulties had been placed in his way when he desired to appear at the scene of the congress. On the contrary he received a most cordial welcome from the Austrian government. There were sound reasons for this. It was a foregone conclusion that Austria was to regain outlets on the Adriatic at Venice and Trieste as a result of the congress, and the Austrian authorities hoped that a considerable commerce would soon develop between these ports and the Western Hemisphere. Bollmann, with his connections in the financial circles of London, his large views on the importance of international trade, and his self-assured way of talking, was soon in high favor. He impressed the intellectuals, men like Friedrich Schlegel, Adam Mueller, Pilat, and Varnhagen von Ense.[14] He worked his way into the con-

[12] "Letters relating to the Negotiations at Ghent, 1812-1814", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX (1915), 118-19.

[13] Donnan, pp. 6, 319, 348, 351-52, 362.

[14] Varnhagen von Ense, III, 253; Ludmilla Assing, ed., *Tagebücher von Friedrich von Gentz* (Leipzig, 1873-74), I, 377. The diary which Bollmann had kept of the Congress of Vienna and which Bollmann's daughters refused to let Kapp see (Kapp, p. v) has been destroyed. Mr. William Franklin Sands, who is related through his wife to Bollmann's granddaughter, writes: "His [Bollmann's] diary of the Congress of Vienna was destroyed by the will of Miss Ellen Keating of Philadelphia, his granddaughter. It is pos-

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fidence of Count Stadion, Austrian minister of finance, and Baron von Bülow, Prussian minister of finance, who found his economic views edifying. He was disappointed in Castlereagh, whom he found "much more reserved than Arbuthnot" and "naturally dull", but Talleyrand, Humboldt, Hardenberg, and Metternich took respectful notice of him, and the diligent Austrian police found several of his letters worth copying for their archives.[15] Few men from America, one may be confident, would have succeeded so well in finding their way around the Vienna of the congress.

The reception given him by the Austrian authorities was so cordial that Bollmann soon had good reason to believe that much more could be accomplished in developing Austro-American commercial relations than he had originally supposed. The hint was dropped that his appointment as American consul or commercial agent in Vienna would be welcomed at the Hofburg.[16] He also became interested in the possibility of arranging the sale to the United States of six ships of war which had been built by the French government at Venice but which Austria had received after the Treaty of Paris.[17] The Austrian government wanted to dispose of the ships, and Bollmann presumably might expect a good commission if the deal were successfully made.

During the early months of 1815 Bollmann played his cards well. He won the support of Friedrich von Gentz, who enjoyed the confidence of Metternich to an unusual degree, and through the intercession of Gentz a memoir written by Bollmann and dated April 27, 1815, was laid before Metternich.[18] This was accompanied by a strong recommendation from Gentz that it be favorably acted upon.[19]

Bollmann pointed out in the memoir that great opportunities for trade between Austria and the United States had heretofore been largely unutilized; and he called attention to the fact that account must be taken not merely of the market in the United States but of the possibility of

sible (I should think certain) that being written in German, and no one present at the execution of the will knowing German, and in addition, the high feeling at that time against Germany, all combined to cause its destruction under the will without looking to see what it was. I arrived too late. . . . It was quite clear from the few torn scraps and the engravings of the principal men at the Congress (which is what led me to look at the scraps) that he knew them all and was well considered of them"; letter of Mr. Sands to the author, May 22, 1939.

[15] August Fournier, *Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1913), pp. 326, 327, 413, 414, 419; Kapp, pp. 381-82.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 380; Donnan, p. 374. [17] Varnhagen von Ense, IV, 281; Donnan, p. 375.

[18] Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Interiora, Vol. 91 (formerly Vol. 31h).

[19] F. C. Wittichen and E. Salzer, eds., *Briefe von und an Gentz* (Munich, 1909-13), III, Part I, 305.

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transshipping Austrian goods from North America to the West Indies and South America. With proper encouragement he foresaw the growth of a lively export of linen, Hungarian wine, mercury, textiles, drugs, chemicals, glass, hats, steel, watches, musical instruments, and other wares from Austria and enlarged imports of cotton, indigo, wax, cocoa, quinine, mahogany, etc., from the New World. To accomplish these worthy ends, he went on to say, an agent from the United States ought to be accredited to the Austrian government, while Austria ought to establish an agent of similar grade in the United States. "The United States appear to be called to a great destiny", and the court at Vienna could scarcely be indifferent to the importance of obtaining not merely commercial but also political information of an exact nature about this new country. Did Prince Metternich, Bollmann respectfully inquired, share these views?

Metternich gave the memoir his prompt attention, and on May 12, 1815, he replied: "I am persuaded as you are, Monsieur, that it would be possible to establish commercial relations between Austria and the United States which would be equally advantageous to both countries. . . . For my part I would be happy should the choice of the agent charged with dealing with this matter from the side of the United States fall on you."[20] Two days later Bollmann dined at the home of Gentz, and Gentz noted in his diary: "Bollmann is leaving for America. I have opened up the way for him to be sent here as agent of the United States. I congratulate myself considerably over this success."[21]

On his way back to the United States Bollmann stopped in London, where he saw John Quincy Adams, who gave him a letter to present to President Madison. On November 28, 1815, immediately upon his return, Bollmann addressed two communications to Madison. In one he announced that he had the letter from Adams which he was requested to deliver in person, and he asked for an appointment.[22] In the other he brought up the question of the ships of war at Venice, regarding which he submitted a memorandum; he also spoke of his activity in promoting "the commercial intercourse between the United States and the Imperial Dominions", and he sent the reply which Metternich had given to the "memoir which I addressed to him at his particular request".[23]

The authorities in Washington were put in an embarrassing predicament. The friendly Austrian overtures could not be ignored, but Boll-

[20] Staatsarchiv, Vol. 91. [21] Assing, I, 378.

[22] Bollmann to Madison, Nov. 28, 1815, Madison Papers, Library of Congress.

[23] Same to same, Nov. 28, 1815, Department of State records, Miscellaneous Letters, September-December, 1815, National Archives, Washington, D. C. Also in the Department

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mann, with his past record, could not be encouraged. In consequence, Bollmann was politely cold-shouldered, but John Quincy Adams was instructed to inform the Austrian minister in London that the President had received "with much interest the manifestation of a desire in the Austrian government to promote an active commerce between the United States and the dominions of the Emperor. . . . How far it may be expedient to adopt any additional measure for the purpose of promoting this object will be considered hereafter", Adams was told. "It would, for reasons which it is presumed are known to you, not be agreeable to this government to employ Dr. Bollmann in such a service. It is nevertheless not its object to lessen the Doctor in the estimation of the Austrian government, or to do him other injury."[24]

Bollmann, on his past record, was foredoomed to disappointment in his hopes of representing the United States in an official capacity in Austria. Disgruntled, he returned to London and took a house. Here Adams visited him on July 18, 1816, and afterwards noted in his diary:

> I found Dr. Bollmann with one of his daughters, whom he introduced to me. By his conversation I found that he was mortified and soured by the disappointment of the projects with which he went to the United States last autumn. . . . He said the government had declined the offer from Austria about the ships at Trieste, preferring to build seventy-four-gun ships at an expense of five hundred thousand dollars each, to purchasing them at one hundred thousand. He told me . . . that he would stay at least two years in Europe. I doubt whether he intends ever to return to the U. S. again.[25]

Such, in truth, was the case. Bollmann cut loose from the United States. He remained in England, tinkering, inventing, speculating, until the old quicksilver interest took him to Jamaica, where he died in 1821.

The Austrian government did not allow itself to be deterred by the failure of Bollmann to bring his negotiation to the hoped-for conclusion, nor did it allow itself to be discouraged by the State Department's vague affirmation of "interest". In 1816 the energetic Ritter von Stahl was made head of the *Commerzhofkommission*. He preached unceasingly the importance of the American trade and successfully agitated for the exten-

of State records (Miscellaneous Letters, October-December, 1814) there is an "extract of a letter from Vienna 8th Novr 1814, understood to be written by Doctor Bollmann". The information which the letter imparts about the Congress of Vienna is not unusual, but the letter reveals that the State Department was in some connection, though probably in an indirect way, with Bollmann at Vienna.

[24] Monroe to Adams, Dec. 12, 1815, Department of State records, Instructions, Vol. VIII, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[25] Charles Francis Adams, ed., III, 404. Bollmann had informed Bayard on January 9, 1815, that he believed the ships, which carried ninety guns, "could be had for about 400,000 $ each". Donnan, p. 375. *Cf.* also Charles Francis Adams, ed., III, 415.

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sion of the Austrian consular service in the Western Hemisphere.[26] When William B. Barney went to Trieste in 1816 to fill the vacancy in the American consulate there, he heard on all sides "that the commerce of the United States is of greater importance to this country than that of any other nation, and that everything that can be done to promote it, ought to and will be done".[27]

These impressions were soon confirmed by the highest authorities in the monarchy. On April 30, 1816, the emperor and Prince Metternich visited Trieste. At the formal audience for the various consuls and local authorities the emperor took particular notice of Barney alone of the consuls and "made some observations very flattering" to Barney's feelings as an American. In the afternoon the emperor visited the American ship *Richmond* from Philadelphia. Barney utilized this friendly gesture to seek a special audience of the emperor. He "was ushered instantly into *Imperial Presence*" while nearly a hundred people waited enviously, hat in hand. The emperor was "graciously affable" and, with his mercantilist preconceptions, took especial note of the fact that an American vessel had recently brought fifty-six thousand dollars in specie. " 'This is the kind of commerce I want' ", he said; " 'the Americans bring me specie too; tell your countrymen to continue their trade to my ports, and rest assured that I shall not be wanting in acts of encouragement, whenever it may be in my power.' " Prince Metternich also received Barney, and, although he was more cautious than the emperor in his comments, he expressed a lively interest in American trade and announced that the Austrian government contemplated the appointment of a consul general to the United States.[28]

As a result of the negotiation which had been begun by Bollmann, Baron von Lederer was finally sent to New York as Austrian consul. In 1825 Lederer opened negotiations for a commercial treaty between the two countries. It was eventually signed on August 27, 1829, and ratifications were exchanged on February 10, 1831.[29]

PAUL SWEET.

Bates College.

[26] Adolph Beer, *Die österreichische Handelspolitik im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1891), p. 11.

[27] Barney to Monroe, Mar. 28, 1816, Consular Letters, Trieste, Vol. I, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[28] Same to same, June 9, 1816, *ibid.*

[29] Vernon G. Setser, *The Commercial Reciprocity Policy of the United States, 1774-1829* (Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 221-22; *Treaties and Conventions concluded between the United States of America and Other Powers since July 4, 1776* (Washington, 1871), pp. 31-34.

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DOCUMENTS

Charles Carroll's Plan of Government

The document printed below is an outline of a plan for revising the Articles of Confederation prepared by Charles Carroll of Carrollton on July 23, 1787, at the request of Daniel Carroll, a member of the Maryland delegation to the Federal Convention. The original is not known to exist, but a manuscript copy transcribed from the original by Daniel Brent in 1828 is to be found in the collection of Carroll Papers in the Maryland Historical Society (VIII, 712 B), and it is this copy that is reproduced below.[1] Brent was a nephew of Daniel Carroll, and on November 22, 1838, he sent to Charles Carroll of Carrollton a copy of the original document with the following explanation:

> I take advantage of this Occasion to furnish you with a Clumsy Copy of your Outlines of Amendments to the Articles of Confederation, which I mentioned to you at the Manor, the Original Manuscript being now in my possession, with a few other papers of the late Mr. Daniel Carroll, my Uncle. I regret that a part of it should have been separated from the rest, and is mislaid. . . .[2]

Charles Carroll had himself been elected by the general assembly of Maryland to represent that state in the Federal Convention,[3] but like several other prominent Maryland political leaders, he had declined the honor.[4] His refusal was attributed to the fact that he was reluctant to leave his seat in the state senate for fear that in his absence the radical faction of the lower house, the house of delegates, might renew agitation for an emission of state paper money and coerce the senate into approval.[5]

[1] The document is published here with the kind permission of the Maryland Historical Society. Dr. W. T. Root, State University of Iowa, and Dr. St. G. L. Sioussat, Library of Congress, rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of the introduction and notes.

[2] Carroll Papers, Maryland Hist. Soc., VIII, 712 A.

[3] *Votes and Proceedings,* Apr. sess., 1787, House of Delegates, Apr. 23, 1787.

[4] *Ibid.,* May 10, 1787. Of the five men originally appointed to represent Maryland in the Federal Convention, only one, James McHenry, accepted. Robert Hanson Harrison declined because of the "ill state of his health" (*ibid.,* May 12, 1787) and Thomas Stone and Thomas Sim Lee for reasons unnamed (*ibid.,* May 3, May 24, 1787); Gabriel Duvall, who was elected to replace Thomas Stone, also declined (*ibid.,* Senate, May 14, 1787).

[5] John Brown Cutting to Thomas Jefferson, July 11, 1788, in A. H. Allen, ed., *Documentary History of the Constitution of the United States* (5 vols., Washington, 1905), IV, 720.

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Carroll's plan for revising the Articles of Confederation clearly reflects the growing alarm felt by most members of the upper class during the "critical period" at the democratic excesses exhibited in many of the state governments since the Revolution. He was personally a man of great wealth[6] and had conscientiously devoted himself, in his career in Maryland politics, to preserving the rights of property against popular infringement. He had been a member of the committee which framed the state's ultraconservative constitution in 1776[7] and had served for eleven years in Maryland's aristocratic senate, where, with his fellow senators, he had for two years past blocked the efforts of the lower house of the state legislature to enact paper money laws.[8] Hence, in addressing himself to the problem of revising the federal government, he was greatly interested in securing property rights against the threat of democratic influences and popular radicalism. His suggestions that a permanent federal executive be established to hold office *quam diu bene se gesserint,* that delegates to Congress hold office for a longer term, and that the sole right of emitting paper money be vested in Congress, to be exercised in time of war only, were made with this end in view.

But Carroll's plan for revising the federal government is more remarkable for its limitations than for its scope. While many of his contemporaries, and especially those who attended the Federal Convention, considered a thorough centralization of power in the federal government to be the only feasible means of checking radicalism in the state governments, Carroll approached the same problem from the opposite angle. Rather than transfer all sovereign powers from the states to the federal government, he would have accomplished the desired end, without radically changing the constitutional structure of the confederation, by revamping the individual state governments to make them less demo-

[6] Carroll had inherited from his father an estate which was valued at £88,380:9:7 in 1764 (Dr. Charles Carroll to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Jan. 9, 1764, *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XII [1917], 27). In 1774 he was paying quit-rents on 58,621 acres of land (Carroll Papers, Library of Congress), including the 10,000-acre tract in Frederick County, Maryland, called "Carrollton" and the home plantation of "Doughoregan", consisting of 10,480 acres in Anne Arundel County. John Adams wrote of him at this time that his was "the first fortune in America" (Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams,* 10 vols., Boston, 1850-56, II, 380). The total extent of his landholdings is estimated to have been, in 1800, somewhere between 70,000 and 85,000 acres, distributed throughout Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York (L. C. Wroth, "Charles Carroll of Carrollton", *The Dictionary of American Biography,* 20 vols., New York, 1928-1937, III, 523). In 1790 he worked, on his Maryland estates alone, 316 slaves, which constituted the largest single slaveholding in that state (*Heads of Families, First Census of the U. S.: 1790, State of Maryland*).

[7] J. A. Silver, *Provisional Government in Maryland, 1774-1777* (Baltimore, 1895).

[8] Below, n. 31.

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cratic. He considered such reform more essential to the preservation of propertied interests in the confederacy than drastic alteration of the central government, and it is to this problem that he devoted his most earnest attention in drawing up the outline below.

Nevertheless, when the work of the Convention was finally completed and the Federal Constitution was sent to the states for ratification, Carroll supported it in Maryland. He stood for election to the state ratifying convention from Anne Arundel County, but with the three other Federalist candidates from that county he was defeated by the machinations of Samuel Chase, leader of the Anti-federalist party in the state.[9]

PHILIP A. CROWL.

Johns Hopkins University.

DANIEL BRENT'S COPY OF THE CARROLL PLAN

Outlines of a Plan of Government for the United States, and of Amendments to the Constitutions of the several States of this Union, suggested by Mr. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, in a Manuscript found amongst the Papers of the late Mr. Daniel Carroll, a Delegate from Maryland to the Federal Convention, which formed the present Constitution of the United States; and transcribed from that Manuscript.

Alterations which appear to me necessary or at least proper to be made in the present federal Government.

The States to vote according to their respective Contributions to the federal Treasury—Numbers of People, and not Land, to be the rule of apportionment of the federal Taxes[10]—The rotation of Delegates to Congress too quick, and their number too large: perhaps it would be wise to fix the number of Two from each State:[11] the admission of the Western States hereafter into the Confederacy (should they ever unite with us)[12] seems to require this restriction of the number of Delegates—Their Continuance in Congress to depend altogether on the States which send them—If they give satisfaction, and choose to continue in the [Legislature, struck out] Delegation, why should they be annually or triennially removed? The longer they continue Delegates, the fitter they will be for the Station.

Is it necessary that the Federal Legislature should consist of two Branches? Many, I believe, think it ought. I cannot discover any great advantage which

[9] Madison Papers, Library of Congress, IX, 47.

[10] Article VIII of the Articles of Confederation provided that the expenses of the confederate government should be defrayed out of a common treasury, "which shall be supplied by the several states, in proportion to the value of all land within each state, granted to, or surveyed for, any person . . ."

[11] Under the Articles of Confederation (Art. V) delegates to Congress were to be chosen annually by the states, and no individual could sit as a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years. The delegation from each state could vary from two to seven members.

[12] With the exceptions noted below (n. 29), parentheses are used to indicate brackets in the original manuscript.

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would result from two branches, unless indeed the Number of the Delegates should be so great as to render the Assembly mobbish: in that case a separation of them into two bodies, a larger and a smaller, might be proper, to prevent the bad effects of declamation, by which large Assemblies of men are more liable to be influenced, than small. The Representation to the Federal Assembly is *a refined Representation:* Delegates to that Body ought to be chosen by the Legislatures of the several States, which should consist, in my opinion, of two Branches. See the reasons hereafter assigned for this opinion.

No Delegate to be appointed to Congress unless he has 2/3rds of the Votes of each Branch—The qualification as to Age and Property to depend on the respective [qualifica, struck out] regulations which each State may think proper to adopt.

I would extend the Power of Congress to the regulation of Cross Posts. By the present Confederation I think the power is restricted to the main Road leading thro' the several States.[13]

Regulation of Trade by the imposition of Duties *on imports*—This Power should, as it strikes me, be vested exclusively in Congress. Unless this Power is lodged exclusively in that body, a general uniform duty on imports from foreign Countries will not probably ever take place. Uniformity in the imposition of duties seems necessary to render the Collection of them effectual, without being partially oppressive.

Money—The Congress have at present the right of [having, struck out] fixing the standard of [the][14] Coin. I do not remember whether this power goes further[15]—I would willingly consent to vest them with the exclusive Power of coining Specie, and the exclusive right of emitting paper money, confined to time of War. *Even Congress* ought not to be trusted with the unlimited power of emitting paper money *at all times:* the right should be restricted to times of War—No paper should be emitted but [when, struck out] upon productive funds, and the time of redemption of the paper should be fixed by the Act putting it into Circulation.

The best possible system of Government, unless well administered, is but mere Theory: hence the necessity of a good federal Executive. The federal Government should consist of two Parts; a Legislative Council called Congress, and an Executive Council, or Board, composed of and selected from the Members of Congress, with a President or Moderator at their head—This board to overlook and controul the public offices, to superintend the Collection of the federal revenue; to direct and govern the military, if a standing

[13] Carroll was misinformed on this point. The Articles of Confederation placed no express limitations on the power of Congress to regulate cross posts. Article IX provided that "the united states in congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of . . . establishing and regulating post offices from one state to another, throughout all the united states, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office". An ordinance passed in Congress in 1782 explicitly granted the central government jurisdiction over the postal service within the borders of the several states (W. C. Ford and G. Hunt, eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress,* 25 vols., Washington, 1904-1922, XXIII, 670), and by 1787 cross posts were being established by Congress in every section of the country (W. E. Rich, *The History of the United States Post Office to the Year 1829,* Cambridge, 1924, p. 62).

[14] [Insert].

[15] Congress under Article IX was granted "the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states".

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military force should be thought expedient and necessary. Perhaps the Executive Council had better not be composed of Members of Congress, but should be chosen by, and amenable to Congress, and be constantly sitting.

The Heads of the different boards, the board of Revenue, alias the Treasury, the Board of War, of Ordnance, of Marine, should make out annual Estimates of the Expenses of their respective Departments: from these Estimates the Contingents of Men and Money would be adjusted and apportioned by Congress—The Estimates to be revised and examined by the Executive Council before they are laid before Congress.

A Legislative federal Council may be well chosen, its rights may be competent to the End of its Establishment, a good Executive may be formed, I mean it may be composed of honest and wise men, and yet no great good [may, struck out] will arise from the reformation, unless a coercive power to enforce its acts and regulations be lodged in Congress [and in the Executive Council subject to the controul of Congress.][16] This points out the necessity of a Standing Army.

Let the Advantages be well weighed against the dangers and disadvantages of a regular permanent military force. It should be regularly paid—Unless this can be accomplished, we had better have no Army, than to have a seditious and an undiciplined[17] one. It should not be large; might be employed in useful Undertakings occasionally, as repairing roads &c &c. Thus the loss of their labour would not be so much felt—A seditious Spirit in the common men, or the ambitious views of their Generals might be checked by a well regulated militia. To the preservation of Republican Governments the establishment [of a good][18] Militia seems essential.

It appears to me a Reform of our State Constitutions or Governments should accompany, if not precede the reformation of the federal Govt., for unless the several State Govts. be well organised, I am confident the federal Govt., however perfect it may appear in Theory, will always be found very defective in practice.

I prefer two Branches in the Legislature of the several States to one Branch—Were the Senates to be chosen as ours,[19] and a board of Revision to be established, consisting of the Judges of the Supreme Courts, and an Executive Council, and possessing Powers similar to those of N. York,[20] the several Govts. would be greatly improved by these Regulations or alterations, I conceive.

Perhaps it would be well to give the larger branch (the immediate Representatives of the People) a continuance for three years, the less numerous branch 7 years duration—But all depends on the choice of proper Delegates, proper Senators, and a proper Executive. What are the most probable means of securing a good choice of all these? Surely by restricting the right of Suf-

[16] [Insert].

[17] *Sic.*

[18] [Insert].

[19] The Maryland constitution of 1776 provided for indirect election of state senators. The senate was composed of fifteen men "of the most wisdom, experience, and virtue", chosen every five years by an electoral college, which was elected by the state's qualified voters. No man could hold a seat in the senate unless he possessed real and personal property above the value of £1,000 current money.

[20] New York's constitution of 1777 (Art. III) established a council of revision, consisting of the governor, chancellor, and judges of the supreme court, who were empowered to revise all bills "hastily and unadvisedly passed" by the state legislature.

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frage to such Citizens as will be most likely to exercise [that, struck out] this important right most wisely. But who are these? The yeomanry, the middling Class of Citizens, the Land holders—I may be singular in my way of thinking on this subject, and therefore I may be in the wrong: but I would confine (in this State) the right of Suffrage as to the choice of Delegates, and of Electors of Senators, to persons possessed of 150 acres of Land in fee-simple.[21]

It may be objected that this System would break in upon the great and fundamental maxim, that Representation ought to be inseparably connected with Taxation, in other words, that all who pay taxes ought to have the right of Suffrage.

I suspect the Soundness of general maxims, which in no Govt. are adhered to—In this Govt. the maxim is annually violated by our Asst. Laws. But *right* and *practice* [it may be said][22] are two distinct things: yet speculative rights, which cannot be exerted without detriment to the Community, ought they to be preserved?

Every Citizen, let his property be ever so small, is, or ought to be protected both in his person, and in that property, by the Laws of his Country: Ought he not therefore to contribute his mite to the Support of that Government by which he is protected, altho' he should be deprived of [the right of][23] voting for Representatives to the Legislature, until he had acquired Property to a certain amount, and of a certain description? I say the person and the property of every Citizen is, or ought to be protected by the Laws—The Habeas Corpus Law will defend his Liberty: Let that Law be sacred, and never suspended, but in time of actual Rebellion or Invasion. The same Laws which secure the Enjoyment of Property to those having the right of Suffrage will secure the Property of those not having that right: for the same Law must govern the richest, the middling order of Citizens, and the poorest.

Should it be apprehended that heavy Capitation taxes might be imposed on those not having the right of Suffrage, let the Bill of Rights fix the quantum of the Annual Capitation tax to be imposed on persons not possessing the right of Suffrage. Perhaps it might be safer to abolish Capitation taxes altogether, and substitute in their stead a general Excise: then all would contribute to Government in proportion to their Consumption, so far as the Excise might operate. I would give to Trading Towns, whose population should amount to a fixed number, a right of sending Delegates to the Legislature. In these the right of Suffrage should not be confined to Landed Property.

The *Executive Power*—Much depends on the Execution of the Laws—Under the term, *"Executive Power"*, I include the Officers of Justice, as well as what we generally mean by the Executive, An Executive Board or Council.

In our State, I think, this Council ought not to be appointed by the Legislature,[24] but by the Chancellor, the Judges of the Court of Appeals and the

[21] Under the Maryland constitution of 1776 the county franchise was restricted to freemen above twenty-one years of age who possessed a freehold of fifty acres of land within the county in which they offered to vote or who had property within the state above the value of £30 current money and had resided in the county in which they offered to vote for one whole year next preceding the election.

[22] [Insert].

[23] [Insert].

[24] Article XXVI of the Maryland constitution of 1776 provided that the governor's council be annually chosen by joint ballot of both houses of the state legislature.

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General Court, acting under a . . . [hiatus in text] . . . & particular oath to elect the best qualified for the office, without favor or partiality. The Salaries of the Executive Board ought to be fixed by the Legislature, and not left to depend on an annual vote of the Assembly. The [num, struck out] members of the Council should not be removed but by the concurrence of 2/3rds. of the Legislature on complaint exhibited of malconduct.

Administration of Justice—It should be impartially administered and without delay—Abuses of Lawyers to be corrected—Limitation of Actions &c &c. Contracts should be enforced when made conformable to Law. [This is a wide field.][25] We have [conf, struck out] conversed on this subject, and you are so well acquainted with my sentiments respecting the necessity of a regular and good administration of Justice, that I need not commit them to paper, or enlarge on this topic. I shall only observe that the perfection of political Oconomy[26] does not consist *merely* in having good laws, but in a regular and an effectual execution of them.

Revenues. Unless the public revenue be well collected, and wisely and strictly applied, Government cannot be well administered; no individual can be easy, or thrive, who does not manage well his patrimony or income, and no people can be happy and prosper, whose revenues are not reduced to order, collected with punctuality, and judiciously expended.

A good system of Taxation should be devised by the Legislature; the Executive should carry the Laws into effect. A Comptroller General, or Superintendant of Finance, should be appointed to superintend the Collection of the Taxes—His Powers should be competent to the end, perhaps discretionary to a certain degree, and to be made responsible for an improper exercise of such powers—You will observe that I have not touched upon [m]any[27] partial defects of our own and others—I have only glanced at general heads, and traced the outlines of what I conceive would amend our respective State Governments.

You indeed requested only my hints or thoughts on a federal Govt., but as a good federal Govt. cannot be got, or at least will not be carried into Execution unless Good State Govts. can be formed, I have thought it as necessary to throw out some of my Ideas on the latter as well as the former.

As I wrote you yesterday I did not imagine I could suggest anything new or useful. I have complied with your request, and merely [to][28] comply with it, I have hastily given my thoughts. You will therefore excuse the inaccuracy of them, and keep them to yourself. Mr. Caton having continued here this day has afforded me the opportunity of sending you this scrawl.

I am Dear Sir your affec. Kinsman & hu: servt.

(Signed)[29] Ch: Carroll, of Carrollton.

23 July 1787
Doughoragen,[30]

P.S. I have not assigned any reasons for the preference given to two branches of Legislature in the formation of the several State Governments.

[25] [Insert].
[26] *Sic.*
[27] [Insert].
[28] [Insert].
[29] Hereafter parentheses instead of brackets are used in the original manuscript.
[30] *Sic.*

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These reasons are too obvious and too well known to need being mentioned by me.[31]

I could wish the federal Executive to be a permanent Body; its Head or any of its Members to be removed by Congress, on an impeachment by any one State, so many States (say a Majority) voting the impeachment well founded. A mere removal from office may not always be sufficient punishment. If Congress should be of this Opinion, let a special Court be appointed by Congress, not to be composed

Cetera desunt

[31] From Carroll's point of view the value of a bicameral legislature had been amply demonstrated in the operation of the system in Maryland. Under the constitution of 1776 the senate was designed to act as an aristocratic check on the more popularly elected house of delegates. In the two years preceding the ratification of the Federal Constitution the senate had repeatedly blocked the efforts of a belligerent debtor party within the state to obtain the passage of paper money bills and other types of debtor legislation. On December 22, 1785, the lower house had passed a bill for the emission of bills of credit to be put out on loan at interest (*Votes and Proceedings,* Nov. sess., 1785, House of Delegates, Dec. 22, 1785). It was unanimously rejected by the senate (*ibid.,* Senate, Dec. 25, 1785). In the next session of the general assembly the lower house passed a second bill for an emission of bills of credit, to the amount of £350,000 (*ibid.,* Nov. sess., 1786, House of Delegates, Dec. 15, 1786). The senate again unanimously rejected the bill, as well as another bill to modify the existing law for imprisonment of debtors (*ibid.,* Senate, Dec. 30, 1786). In both instances Carroll played a prominent part in securing the senate's veto. The house of delegates then pressed for an adjournment and appealed to the electorate to force the senate to capitulate (*ibid.,* House of Delegates, Jan. 5, 1787). One member of the lower house is even reported to have advocated the use of arms to compel the senate to assent to paper money (*The Maryland Gazette or the Baltimore Advertiser,* Jan. 30, 1787). For two months after the adjournment on January 20, 1787, the issue between the two houses was hotly debated throughout the state. Ultimate victory lay with the senate. The lower house was unable to command sufficient support from an exclusively property-owning electorate to justify the adoption of forceful measures against the senate. When the general assembly reconvened in the spring of 1787, the house of delegates accepted defeat, and the issue of paper money was dropped, never to be revived again. The issue of ratification of the Federal Constitution occupied the exclusive attention of the state's voters from September, 1787, to April, 1788, and with the final adoption of that instrument, the power of issuing paper currency no longer lay with the individual state governments.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

History and Science: A Study of the Relation of Historical and Theoretical Knowledge. By HUGH MILLER. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1939. Pp. x, 201. $2.00.)

IN a brief and swiftly moving study Professor Miller surveys the fields of science, history, philosophy, religion, and politics. He regards Darwinism as the consummation of the development of Western thought in modern times and joyfully believes that it has all but finally overthrown the older conception of a universe built on mathematical lines and governed by ineluctable natural law. For him mathematics is not a science of objective fact but an art of symbolic exposition. Similarly, logic is neither a definition of the ultimate structure of nature nor a statement of the eternal conditions of correct thinking; it is an investigation of the forms of verbal and symbolic expression. The physical sciences tell us more about laboratory procedures than about the external world. Only the disciplines that employ the concept of evolution furnish information about reality; biology, geology, and sociology, concerned with the evolution, respectively, of life, the earth, and societies, are the only true sciences, and of these biology is the exemplary natural science. For the world, we are told, contains only things in process of evolution. And it is a pluralistic world, since there is no single grand evolution but only distinct and separate chains of mutations. Comprehension of the world comes, therefore, by way of the historical approach; but this history is not merely human chronicle, it is natural history as well.

This reviewer has difficulty with some crucial turns in Professor Miller's interesting and energetic argument. For example, we read that there is an important distinction between experimental and natural science: "An experimental science is a science predominantly bent upon certain laboratory and other processes that are initiated and controlled by man; whereas a natural science is one that is bent upon processes observable in nature and unaffected by man" (p. 52). This distinction permits the judgment that "physical science, since it is predominantly an experimental science, may not presume to constitute a final description of natural form" (*ibid.*). Yet elsewhere (p. 141) this sharp dichotomy between nonhuman nature and man is recognized as invalid, for man and his works form part of nature. It must be acknowledged, moreover, that the physical sciences have had notable success in dealing with processes which man cannot affect: measuring the speed of light neither increases nor diminishes that speed. On the other hand, as the author

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is well aware, biology has become increasingly experimental and less descriptive; indeed, experimental genetics has contributed significantly to our understanding of the processes of natural evolution. And are man-made evolutions (for what else have the agriculture and stockbreeding of the past six millennia been?) any the less evolutions? Again, the author reproaches physical science for not having adopted the evolutionary approach to its subject matter (p. 20). But how weighty is the evidence that the specific gravity of water has undergone, or will undergo, any evolutionary change? Astronomy, surely a highly developed physical science, does not disdain the historic or genetic approach in appropriate contexts (secular variations, the physicochemical properties of the stars, etc.).

Professor Miller believes that evolution disposes of the problem of induction. The validity of a generalization, he thinks, is guaranteed by the unfailing presence of a trait in all members of a species. We now know that all men are mortal, because mortality is a biological trait of the human species. Do we also know that hereafter there will be no cats with five legs or two tails? Are not mutants the very essence of the evolutionary process?

Although Professor Miller's book may serve as a useful corrective to certain types of absolutistic and idealistic metaphysics, his concentration upon evolution as the dominant feature of the world's structure has led him, in this reviewer's opinion, to grave misconceptions of the nature of both science and history. His candid judgment may be turned upon himself: "every philosophy is the mistaken attempt to find in some one abstract character the essential substance and whole meaning of nature" (p. 46).

City College, New York. EDWARD ROSEN.

Geschichte der Volksfreiheit und der Demokratie. Von ADOLF GASSER. (Aarau: Verlag H. R. Sauerländer & Co. 1939. Pp. 224. 8 fr.)

IT is reassuring to find in these days that the German language still lends itself as well as ever to the defense of the freedom of the human spirit, although the spokesman and defender of that freedom in the present instance is a Swiss historian and not a German statesman. In a series of lectures delivered at the University of Basel during the winter semester of 1938-39 and printed here, he tells us, with but little alteration, Adolf Gasser has reviewed the whole history of mankind, tracing through it the perennial struggle between what he calls the spirit of confidence and the spirit of command.

The essence of freedom, as the author defines it, is freedom of conscience; and the conscience is free only in democratic countries. All that is valuable in Western culture is built upon the twin pillars of individual liberty and the love of man; without recognition of the worth and dignity of the individual, he says, all talk of higher social justice is senseless. Man's confidence in man is the basis of society, and trustworthiness is essential, in men and in nations, if society is to survive. The crisis in which the world now finds itself involved is a struggle to determine whether the law is to be based upon a free expres-

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sion of the will of the communities, including the community of nations, or upon the arbitrary will of the stronger.

No people or nation has been quite overlooked, but those whom the author considers the most successful guardians of liberty are the ones that he calls the "old-free peoples" of Switzerland, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, Great Britain and the British Empire, and the United States. Freedom has the rugged vitality to persist only where it is indigenous. The antiquity of the Icelandic parliament and the democratic character of the Norwegian, Swedish, and Dutch monarchies are duly noted. Britain is said to have carried more of freedom to India than she has ever taken away; few tears are shed for Ireland. Such success as we Americans have achieved in maintaining liberty and order side by side is attributed by Gasser chiefly to our determination, shown most clearly in times of crisis, to understand and to get on with one another—to our *Verständigungswille*. The greatest contribution credited to the Swiss confederation is the principle of collective security. Communism, fascism, and National Socialism are classified and discussed together as inimical to freedom.

The author's oversimplification of British history has involved a certain amount of inaccuracy. It is surprising, for example, to read that the Whigs and the Tories were the two great national parties that fought the civil war of the seventeenth century. The concept of "His Majesty's loyal opposition" is introduced somewhat too soon, and the extent of its "control" over the governing majority is probably exaggerated. Specialists can, if they will, find similar faults in the handling of details in the histories of other peoples; but the real task the author set himself was one of synthesis, and he has done that well.

University of Wisconsin. C. V. Easum.

Constitutionalism, Ancient and Modern. By Charles Howard McIlwain, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government in Harvard University. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 162. $2.50.)

It would perhaps not be an exaggeration to say that in recent times political and social scientists have tended to return to that fundamental analysis of governments in terms of arbitrariness versus the rule of law and to see anew the significance of the teachings of Montesquieu and, before him, of Aristotle. They have argued that preceding generations stressed unduly individual liberty and neglected social and political responsibility. They have argued, too, the danger of the other extreme, the glorification of the state to the destruction of human liberty. They have noted, particularly in America, the dangers of attacking constitutional law and its forms from a hectic desire for the immediate solution of specific problems, without regard for the long-term protection of the citizen against governmental encroachments and majority tyranny. They have insisted, yet again, that modern problems, unlike those of the eighteenth century, require strong government, lest weak-

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ness itself lead to dictatorship by *coup d'état* and with popular approval. Yet they desire to preserve the gains of democracy: to reconcile the rule of law and the rule of popular will, with governors responsible to both and with the people themselves supporting and bowing to the former despite temporary discomfort.

These essentially are the theses supported by Professor McIlwain and stated as conclusions of this book. He has been one of the leaders of this school of thought and has emphasized, here and elsewhere, the importance of creating a union of genuine liberals to bring about the coalescence of the supremacy of law and the prevalence of popular will in a generally harmonious democratic system. That is a very great service. Nevertheless, the solution of the problem is not easy. Professor McIlwain himself admits that even in the remaining democratic states of today the struggle of law versus will remains. One might go further and suggest that modern democracy has made it harder rather than easier to reconcile respect for law with responsibility of the government to the people by making it more plausible to attack the former in the name of the latter.

Professor McIlwain's book, though disclaiming to be a history of constitutionalism, is intended to show the main developments in the evolution thereof and to suggest both how the current issues came to be formulated and how various difficulties in the vast task of reconciling the use of power and the restraint of its abuse were overcome. He suggests that in Greek times there was, on the one hand, an inadequate institutionalizing of ethical insights into the problem and, on the other hand, an undue concern with the mere techniques of government and the causes of stability and instability, with, above all, an inadequate legal framework. Rome, he maintains, was the enemy of absolutism even in its seemingly absolutist period, namely, the empire. He shows how the Middle Ages gave ethical content to law with their concept of a higher law and more particularly how they tried to reconcile concepts of rights and of limitation on authority with the recognition of the need for public power in the hands of the governor that he might administer effectively, and he argues quite rightly that the problem became increasingly one of the definition of the limits of each area. He suggests, more brilliantly, that the Reformation, far from causing state supremacy, preserved something of the medieval doctrine of higher law which would otherwise have been lost in nationalist absolutism. He then demonstrates how in the later and vital constitutional conflicts of seventeenth century England the medieval struggle between the spheres of jurisdiction and of government, partly continuing and partly misunderstood, was cut across by the struggle for supreme power between parties not primarily interested in constitutionalism. But after the process was completed, there developed ultimately the idea and practice of government under law combined with the growth of responsibility of governors to governed.

At times Professor McIlwain overstresses breaks in the continuity of

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history, as, for instance, between Greece and Rome. More generally he suggests, perhaps a well-advised position, that problems repeat themselves but that the issues and concepts involved are vitally different: we had better not, in trying to make neat patterns to support current policies, read present ways of looking at things into the past. But then again he would seem to urge that essentially constitutionalism has been an evolution, picking up now one part of its necessary content and now another and discarding also at various times techniques and institutions tried and found wanting. Yet all through this one cannot escape the feeling that Professor McIlwain's concept of constitutionalism is a theoretical one, arising from political analysis and ethics, and that it does not spring naturally and necessarily from his great historical learning and research. Indeed, men not so learned have reached astonishingly similar conclusions.

This is to deny neither the value nor the correctness of Professor McIlwain's historical analysis nor yet to suggest doubts as to the soundness of his analytical position. It is simply to raise the question whether the two are dependent. One might perhaps note that Professor McIlwain tends in his historical writing to stress unduly, though correctively, the legal and the narrowly political and that, in this work at least, he largely neglects not only the social but even the constitutional history of the period from the industrial revolution to the eve of the present, thereby perhaps confirming the justice of the above judgment.

University of Washington. THOMAS I. COOK.

Constitutionalism & the Changing World: Collected Papers. By C. H. McILWAIN, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government in Harvard University. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. viii, 312. $4.50.)

THIS collection opens with Professor McIlwain's well-remembered presidential address in which he challenged the modernistic conception of history as an "act of faith". Accepting the view of Ranke and Tout that history's task is to "find out what really happened", Professor McIlwain is too expert a practitioner not to recognize that the historian of the past, no less than of the present, "can at most make only a selection"—that "it is humanly impossible to approximate in words the complex of innumerable facts and forces that make the life of any part of the past" (p. 3). Santayana's comment may be compared:

> The task is frankly superhuman because no block of real existence with its infinitesimal detail can be recorded. . . . [it] might also be called infrahuman, because the sort of omniscience which such complete historical science would achieve would merely furnish materials for intelligence; it would be inferior to intelligence itself (The Life of Reason, Part V, *Reason in Science,* p. 51).

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But the way out is not the easy one of merging the multitudinous details "into verbal principles, names for general results that play some role in our own philosophy".

> Each of these idols of the theatre is visible only . . . to duly predisposed spectators. The next passion affected will throw a differently colored calcium light on the same pageant. . . . Such a manipulation of history, when made by persons who underestimate their imaginative powers, ends in asserting that events have directed themselves prophetically upon the interests which they arouse (*ibid.*, p. 55).

Professor McIlwain contents himself with a plea for first of all understanding each phase of the past from its own point of view, not ours—"contemporanea expositio fortissima est".

Most of the essays here collected, which have already appeared in scattered periodicals, center in a single problem, for the illustration of which Professor McIlwain seeks to recapture past points of view—the problem which he expresses variously as "the problem of sovereignty" or the problem of "constitutionalism versus absolutism". His thesis, long associated with his work by students of history and public law, is that in every community worthy of the name of state there is an organ of government or system of governmental organs which is sovereign in the sense of being the source of the valid laws which members of the community are expected to obey; but that this organ, while itself "uncontrollable" by law and in that sense "absolute", is nevertheless "limited", since it is a legal power and not an arbitrary one and must, therefore, if it is not to act *ultra vires,* confine itself within the fundamental presuppositions of the legal system it presides over. It cannot overleap the bounds of that system without destroying its own foundation.

In the essays here printed Professor McIlwain seeks to show that this was the view of Bodin and the sixteenth and seventeenth century French jurists; that it was embodied in the right of the French "parlements" to refuse to register royal edicts; and that it was also the view of English constitutional thinkers of the seventeenth century like Eliot, Twysden, and Hunton down to the Revolution of 1688. A passage from Sir Matthew Hale (p. 82) summarizes the matter by saying that while the sovereign is not subject to the "coercive" force of law, he is subject to its "directive" force and also to its "power of invalidation", which will make the king's acts void if contrary to the legal provisions to which he is subject.

In contrast with such "real sovereignty", the Revolution of 1688 introduced what McIlwain calls "Whig sovereignty", which, in its ultimate form of Austinianism, regards government as by nature legally unlimited and thus tends to break down the distinction between lawful government and arbitrary force. This development, going back to Hobbes, marks a break with the established conceptions of two thousand years; and even McIlwain's con-

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cession that the theory of legal limitations upon government was unknown in the classic world (p. 246) may be qualified by reference to the Attic "graphe paranomon" and to the Roman statutory formula, "si quid ius non esset rogari, eius ea lege nihilum rogatum" (Cicero, *Pro Caecina*, 33, 95-96).

The concluding essays point the significance of all this for a world in which the German government has recently decreed that individuals may be criminally punished, "according to public sentiment", for acts not prohibited by any law (p. 268). Professor McIlwain apparently thinks it unnecessary to labor the point that the traditional conception of lawful government issues inevitably in judicial review of governmental acts. "Judicial review, instead of being an American invention, is as old as constitutionalism itself, and without it constitutionalism could never have been maintained" (p. 278). The volume fitly closes with a paper on judicial tenure in England and the growth of judicial independence. More remotely related to the main theme but still relevant are two long papers on "Magna Carta and the Common Law" and "Due Process of Law in Magna Carta". Perhaps more remains to be said than Professor McIlwain believes possible in support of the view that "per legem terrae" refers to substantive law.

University of Pennsylvania. JOHN DICKINSON.

Russia through the Ages, from the Scythians to the Soviets. By STUART RAMSAY TOMPKINS, Associate Professor of History, University of Oklahoma. (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1940. Pp. xxi, 799. $6.00.)

FOR the study of Russian history materials are already abundant and steadily accumulating, but the lack of a comprehensive synthesis of the whole field has been acutely felt. Russian historians, such as Kliuchevskii, with his classic style, or Pokrovskii, with his Marxist twist, addressed their major works to audiences already familiar with elementary Russian history. For a different reason the translation of Platonov's secondary-school text fails to meet the needs of American college and university students. Nor have any of the numerous efforts to compress Russian history within the confines of a single volume succeeded. The field has remained open for some one with an adequate knowledge of the history of western Europe and a mastery of the literature of Russian history to present an intelligent account of Russia's own history while at the same time correlating it with the more familiar history of western Europe.

Russia through the Ages is perhaps the fattest attempt at an independent synthesis, but in no other respect can it be said to excel its numerous predecessors. A thousand years of Russian history swirl by in a welter of unidentified and unnecessary names and terms, the author's erratic departures from Library of Congress transliterations causing only an infinitesimal part of the confusion. The narrative lacks the raciness of the chronicle or of later contemporary writers and lacks the clarity of the old-fashioned Rambaud. Yet the treatment is just as outmoded, confined to the personal and the

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diplomatic save for an occasional page or paragraph devoted to, but never illuminating, the economic system, the social structure, the cultural level, or even the political institutions.

The initial five pages on the geographic setting are neither clear nor comprehensive, nor do subsequent chapters suggest an appreciation of the continuous influence of the natural environment, whether in the early centuries in the forest or in the later period when the steppe also became Russian, on a people whose language, law, and religion bespeak the closest kinship to western Europe's beginnings. Treatment of the Kievan period assumes without discussion a "state" and a "unity" that the narrative belies. The fundamental problem, whether feudalism existed in Russia, is dismissed cavalierly and not without serious inaccuracy, while the author's flat denial of its existence is rendered suspect by his reference in other connections to "feudal" conditions.

The connection of the rise of serfdom as a legal institution with the depopulation of old Russia is not even adumbrated, and the author wobbles between three equally positive attributions of its beginnings—to a decree of Ivan III (p. 115), to Godunov (p. 136), and to debt bondage (p. 144). In economic development generally the author displays no interest. Culture is relegated to a special penultimate chapter of catalogue structure. The church is spottily treated; though care is taken to label Avvakum "son of a drunken parish priest", no integration with Russia's history is furnished even in a repetitive final chapter.

Nor do political institutions fare better—not even the boyar duma and the zemski sobor are seriously discussed; *miestnichestvo* is twice mentioned in its abolition, never in its functioning; the "False Dmitriis" are dismissed "as characteristic of seventeenth-century Muscovy" (shades of Perkin Warbeck and Pugachev, alike). The discussion of Peter is amazingly unclear, with sharp internal contradictions. But there is small profit in extending the roster of vital matters omitted or slurred; it would make a volume even fatter than this book. The *cognoscenti* need only examine the imposing bibliography, with its startling lacunae.

Brooklyn College. JESSE D. CLARKSON.

The Medieval Fenland. By H. C. DARBY, Ehrman Fellow of King's College, and Lecturer in Geography in the University of Cambridge. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History, General Editor, J. H. Clapham.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xvii, 200. $3.00.)

The Draining of the Fens. By H. C. DARBY. (*Ibid.* Pp. xix, 312. $5.50.)

IN regions where the countryside is marked by geographical features that in large measure determine its economic life, history may well be written by geographers and historians in conjunction. The fenland is a good case in point. It included in its prime some thirteen hundred square miles and ex-

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tended into four counties—Lincoln, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. Its "vast horizons appealed to the imagination of many people", its so-called "horrors" attracted men of ascetic preoccupations but did not debar it from an active economic life of its own or imply the necessary isolation supposed by early writers. Its waterways were important channels of intercourse from early times. The two volumes under consideration give an excellent general history of the main features of this interesting region. They show wide reading in specialized as well as general works in the fields of history and geography and also an unusual knowledge, for a general work, of the unprinted manuscript material for the early period and of the "welter" of pamphlets, papers, books, and broadsides which confronts anyone seeking to know fenland's later history.

The maintenance of life and economic activities in fenland was dependent upon the restraining of the "salt and sweet waters" within appointed bounds. In early times this was achieved by the observance of ancient custom, the *consuetudo patrie* or *loci* for the maintenance of dikes and gutters so that the "drowning" of the countryside might be prevented when floods came or the tides drove back on the oncoming rivers. Arrangements for the very important intercommoning in pasture of groups of villages lying near or around certain fens where pasture was possible were in a way duplicated for carrying the burden of defense, the same vills turning in cattle and cleaning necessary gutters. When such custom proved insufficient for the salvation of the country because local responsibility was thus too divided, more central arrangements supplemented the ancient custom by the appointment of commissions for special duties in the fens and at last of justices of sewers for the maintenance of dikes and gutters. Mr. Darby raises the old question of the extent to which the dissolution of monasteries was responsible for inadequacy of the old arrangements. With more effective, centralized administration and the interest of individual "undertakers" in special projects of draining, like the Bedford Level, opposition arose amongst the peasants and others who saw their old profits from the fen interfered with. There is room here for a more specialized study than Mr. Darby has been able to include. The use of windmills too would repay further investigation. The account of the difficulty in maintaining the essential "outfalls", the desire for high levels for navigation at the same time that levels were kept low to make possible the carrying off of flood waters, and the constant lowering of the surface of the fen by the drying of the drained peat are excellently described.

Perhaps the matter on which the reader would most like further discussion is a comparison of conditions in the fenland with those in other similar regions, especially Romney Marsh, and more particularly with respect to methods of colonization, which is an important phase of the economic history of fen, waste, and wood somewhat neglected until the present. A beginning has been made of the study of such measures in Romney Marsh, which are not here treated, and much more remains to be done. We have hitherto

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studied the arable but neglected somewhat the waste. The intercommoning of groups of villages and the possible effect upon administrative arrangements are also important. We must, in any case, be grateful for work that deals so competently with the economic history of a chosen region in chosen aspects. The illustrative maps, diagrams, and plates, as many as a hundred in all, are of great value. One could wish for fuller indexes.

Mount Holyoke College. N. NEILSON.

The Development of Modern Medicine: An Interpretation of the Social and Scientific Factors Involved. By RICHARD HARRISON SHRYOCK. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1936. Pp. xiv, 442. $4.00.)

SINCE this book was published in 1936 it has appeared in a German translation, a tribute paid to few of the products of American scholarship. Through no fault of the *American Historical Review* (nor, let it be said, of the present reviewer) it has not previously been noticed here, but it is high time to call attention to this notable work. The title unfortunately suggests very imperfectly the scope and nature of the contents, which range over the whole subject of health and medicine as they bear on the development of modern society, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Written by a professional historian, the book is not a technical treatise intended for doctors or students of medicine but a work in social history. Though the author is an expert in medical history, he has taken a broad view, relating his subject to the development of other sciences, considering the contributions of various leading countries, and giving for the first time a comprehensive and balanced account of the sanitary and health efforts of the last two centuries.

Professor Shryock raises some interesting problems. He is inclined to attribute a part of England's death rate early in the nineteenth century to an "ominously" increasing incidence of tuberculosis caused by the bad working conditions which we associate with the industrial revolution. Since it remains to be proved that those conditions were worse than previous conditions (instead of merely as bad) the question of a new health factor remains. In any case the number of factory workers in the early nineteenth century was still statistically and proportionately small (though not of small importance). Furthermore tuberculosis was very common outside the factories. It is true, as our author points out, that "consumption" was a well-recognized and specific disease by that time, but statistical material was still lacking, and at an earlier date clear recognition of this disease was lacking also, so that we have little opportunity for making any comparison. The increase may have been an illusion of the doctors.

The whole question of statistics is well handled. Any author deserves commendation who consistently allows for a margin of error due to the increasing accuracy of statistical reports. Most readers would probably have welcomed more attention to charlatanry than is actually given. Mesmer re-

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ceives short shrift, but the chapter on mental disease is a model of compression and lucidity. The origins of professional nursing, though correctly stated, might well have been described at greater length and more precisely in view of the common misapprehensions on the subject.

A dialect letter on housing conditions published in the London *Times* in 1849 and quoted on page 208 brings up an interesting problem of criticism. If newspaper evidence is open to question, then letters to newspapers are especially so, and in this case the letter sounds suspiciously like a professional writer's concept of what a slum-dweller would have written. There is a strong suggestion of Dickens, and it is well known that newspapers a century ago, as in our day, frequently published artificially concocted letters for their own purposes. This particular instance is quaint, but it is not evidence. Its use is the more curious as abundant material on housing conditions is readily available.

Scholars who wish to go further with the subject of this book will feel some disappointment at the omission of a bibliography, for the absence of which the generally excellent footnotes do not entirely compensate. The study of European social history in the period from 1800 is seriously handicapped by the lack of bibliographical surveys, and Professor Shryock has missed an opportunity to perform this additional important service. Nevertheless his book remains an invaluable contribution to social history, drawing together, correlating, and clarifying in masterly fashion a complicated and difficult body of material.

Brown University. CHESTER H. KIRBY.

Archives Year Book for South African History. Edited by the Archives of the Union of South Africa. Volume I, in two parts; Volume II, in two parts. (Cape Town: Government Printing and Stationery Office. 1938; 1939. Pp. 239, 244; xx, 193, xvii, 205.)

WITH the publication of these Archives Year Books for South African history the Union is no longer the most backward of the British Dominions in providing facilities for publishing the studies of its historical research scholars. This is a matter for congratulation as the history of South Africa still offers many problems for the research worker. Less a matter for congratulation, as far as the non-South African reader is concerned, is the fact that some two thirds of the contributions in these volumes are in Afrikaans, the other official language of the Union. One article, on the introduction of slavery into the Cape by the late Professor Blommaert, is in high Dutch. It is so far the most significant article in the series.

Dr. D. W. Krüger's idea of studying Anglo-Boer relations in the nineteenth century by tracing the effort of the landlocked Boer republics to break through to the sea was an excellent one. His contribution is a doctoral dissertation and therefore too long, but it is an energetic and soundly documented

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piece of writing. Another doctoral dissertation, by Dr. J. J. G. Grobbelaar on the Free State and the Basuto problem (Vol. II, Part II), is an illustration of the truth that a faithful reading of the document is not always enough. This contribution, though its literary presentation is good, suffers severely from a naïve conception of the struggle with the Basuto tribes as part of the epic of Boerdom in its fight against ignorance and savagery. Surely such *simplisme* has been abandoned by most capable historians. It was Professor J. Hoge's study of the Lutheran church at the Cape (Vol. I, Part II) which made the reviewer regret the use of Afrikaans. Religion in South African history is a factor as inescapable as religion in colonial New England. Fortunately Dr. Hoge promises an abridgment in German of this helpful contribution to social and religious history. It was a graceful gesture on the part of the editors to devote one book (Vol. II, Part I) to the completed portion of the final volume of the late Sir George Cory's *The Rise of South Africa*. Sir George Cory wrote history as if he had never heard of the color bar or the 1913 Land Act, but his volume contains much of the stuff of history.

What will the war do to promising undertakings of this sort?

State University of Iowa. C. W. DE KIEWIET.

The Albanian Struggle in the Old World and New. Compiled and written by Members of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration of Massachusetts. [The Albanian Historical Society of Massachusetts.] (Boston: The Writer. 1939. Pp. ix, 168. $2.00.)

THE focusing of attention upon Albania in recent months makes this readable little volume a timely one. It gives a clear account of the nationalist movement in Albania and among Albanians in the United States, whose prominent part in the history of their homeland is here for the first time recounted. The case of Albania in achieving ecclesiastical independence appears unique in that America was the site of the first autocephalous Albanian church.

The restive Albanian factory hands of Massachusetts proved a fertile soil when nationalist propaganda arrived in 1905. "For more than two decades the immigrant mill hands and shopkeepers had regularly contributed from their meager earnings to the national cause. Reflecting upon their progress . . . they congratulated themselves that their sacrifices had not been in vain" (p. 64) when Albania was admitted to the League of Nations.

In the years from 1919 to 1925 between 20,000 and 30,000 Albanians returned to the old country, where they at first participated in the building up of their fatherland. Anxiety lest democratic forces interfere with the traditional exploitation of the peasantry prompted Turkish and Greek sympathizing beys of the middle class to unite under the leadership of Ahmed Zog. "As this group came into the ascendancy, the welcome that had at first been extended to the *Amerikani* rapidly chilled" (p. 66). Many Albanians, dis-

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illusioned, returned to the United States to make it their permanent home, as is shown by the fact that in the decade 1920-30 more Albanian women than men came to our shores.

As a chapter in American influence in Europe this volume is significant. The returned Albanians under the republican regime were undoubtedly ambassadors for the "American Way" (p. 83). But to regard the creation of an independent Albanian state as largely the work of Albanians in America (pp. 81-82) is a one-sided view which ignores the European diplomatic situation and the rivalries of the great powers.

Nearly half the volume is devoted to an account of the adaptation of native Albanian customs to conditions in the United States. Since no secondary material exists on the life and activities of Albanians in America, this study, the result of the unparalleled resources of the Federal Writers' Project, is of permanent value as an authoritative picture of one hitherto overlooked element in our polyglot America.

An adequate bibliography is appended, which omits, however, Stickney, *Southern Albania in European International Affairs, 1912-1923* (Stanford University Press, 1926).

Hammond Hall, Santa Barbara. EDITH P. STICKNEY.

The Quest for Peace since the World War. By WILLIAM E. RAPPARD, Director of the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Professor at the University of Geneva. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. xx, 516. $4.00.)

THIS is a useful and timely book. It is an excellent analytical and critical narrative of the Geneva system of international politics from its origin during the War of 1914 to its evanescence in the 1930's. The structure of the argument, which is in three main parts—arbitration, collective security, and disarmament—is admirably clear. The accuracy of fact is impressive for a work dealing with such recent and such controversial events. There is extensive quotation, mainly from archives; the author apologizes for this, but it immeasurably increases the authority of the work and thereby fully compensates for some quite minor interference with continuity. There are certain omissions, no doubt in the interests of reasonable brevity; but the only one substantial enough to occasion regret is the scheme associated with the name of M. Barthou for a system of nonaggression and arbitration pacts.

The most important feature of the work, however, is M. Rappard's views on his subject. Here is an eminent theologian of the Geneva cult giving us, with ruthless honesty yet judicious restraint, his confession of the fallacies in the doctrine of his cult and the disasters to which they have led. Since his restraint is quantitative as well as qualitative, it may be useful to scholars to direct their attention to the following pages, where some of M. Rappard's more significant opinions are given: 100-102, 168-74, 200-202, 205-207, 267-68, 292, 379, 488-501.

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Occasionally M. Rappard's restraint causes him, in my opinion, to refrain from criticisms which follow logically and necessarily from his argument. Speaking of the limitations upon the value of the arbitration machinery to the construction of which the League devoted so much of its energies, he says: "it was the fear that the bellicose would resort to war once their restored power allowed them to do so with some hope of success that was back of most of the efforts of the pacific to facilitate the resort to peace" (p. 177). It seems to me that full frankness demands a further comment here to the effect that the "efforts of the pacific" in building up the formidable arbitration and judicial edifice of Geneva constituted a diversion both of energy and of hope from the realities of the problem of maintaining peace. And does not this further comment apply in some measure to the entire "quest for peace" as pursued at Geneva?

In his extremely valuable—and regrettably short—conclusion (pp. 495-501) M. Rappard does, however, face this last question squarely. All those who desire to reach sound views as to whether there ought in the future to be a direct attempt to "organize" international peace should read the conclusion with minute attention. Teachers of history who want to direct their students to an accurate short account of the League of Nations with a distinguished appraisal of its place in history may confidently use this book for the purpose.

Atlanta University. RUSHTON COULBORN.

International Boundaries: A Study of Boundary Functions and Problems. By S. WHITTEMORE BOGGS, Geographer, U. S. Department of State. With a Foreword by Isaiah Bowman, President, Johns Hopkins University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. xvii, 272. $3.25.)

THIS volume presents the materials of a course of lectures on current boundary problems. That boundaries have become more fluid since the summer of 1939, when the lectures were delivered, can hardly be charged to the author. Nor is the book rendered any the less timely. As long as we are not all one nation, there will be boundaries and boundary problems; and any contribution to their solution should be welcome in this troubled world.

The book contains chapters on the international boundaries of the United States and on South American, European, Asiatic, and African boundaries. It is neither a source book nor a painful study of detail but rather a readable presentation of the types of questions, economic and human as well as political, which arise when boundaries are drawn. The author's chief concern throughout the book is with how boundaries work, particularly for those who live close to the lines. What tensions are created by the lines in such a case; and what devices may be used to relieve these tensions? As an instance of this approach, reference may be made to the author's discussion of the free zones in France, adjacent to Geneva in Switzerland, which have furnished a largely successful solution of the problem in this region for over a century.

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Another example is found in an appendix setting out the elaborate frontier traffic provisions of the treaty of 1926 between Hungary and Yugoslavia.

One feature of the book deserves especial mention. This is found in an ingenious appendix which gives references in tabular form to all of the treaties, conventions, awards, and other documents which have affected each part of the long line which separates the United States from Canada. A total of eighty-five items is listed, with citations of the sources and a brief description of the applicable provision. The items are numbered and so arranged that the matters which affect each portion of the line can be told almost at a glance. This is the only place where the basic documents which control the various elements of this long boundary may be found so completely and conveniently organized. The table should be of great value to students of the history of this still unfortified line.

A review of the present work in the *Harvard Law Review* (June, 1940, p. 1410) compared it unfavorably with "Sir A. Henry McMahon's eminently readable treatise with the same title". Unfortunately the only work of Sir Henry with this title is a twelve-page after-dinner speech—hardly a treatise in any fair use of the term. But quite apart from the inaccuracy of the comparison, it misses the point. The present book is not a compendium of all knowledge on boundaries. It is the substance of a course of lectures, general rather than technical in character, but well stocked with interesting information and thought-provoking material. It furnishes a valuable introduction to the problems of boundaries which will confront the students of the future.

Harvard Law School. ERWIN N. GRISWOLD.

ANCIENT HISTORY

The Other Side of the Jordan. By NELSON GLUECK. (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research. 1940. Pp. xviii, 208. $2.50.)

FOR some ten years Dr. Glueck has been devoting his attention to the much neglected task of archaeological investigation in eastern Palestine and Transjordania. It was natural that the majority of workers and interested societies should concern themselves with Palestine proper and the seaboard, for these obviously offered the possibility of more spectacular discoveries and were more directly connected with biblical studies. The other border, however, the border which skirts northern Arabia and the deserts, was, from the scientific point of view, equally worthy of attention. A great trade route ran north and south through this area from prehistoric times, and into it debouched the trade routes coming up from southern Arabia. All through Palestinian history this eastern strip has had its influence on the economic and cultural development of the land, and one of its peoples, the Nabataeans, is slowly revealing itself as one of the really great peoples of history.

The investigation of this area presented formidable difficulties and promised to be but a wearisome task. Water is scarce, settlements few and far

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between, food scant, the amenities of life nonexistent, heat and sandstorms constant, and the Bedouin inhabitants hostile, suspicious, and difficult to handle. Exploration there meant long journeys on camel back, sleeping in the open or in the vermin-infested Bedouin encampments, living on the rough food of the country, and risking dysentery at every water hole. But Dr. Glueck has been doing it, season after season, with a patience and cheerful acceptance of its hardships that are equaled only by his remarkable tact in dealing with the Bedouin, without whose good will exploration is impossible. The labor has had its reward. The finds have not been so spectacular as those at Lachish or at Ras Shamra, but as a result of this work the land of the Edomites is beginning to be something more than a name to us; Solomon's port at Ezion-geber has been uncovered to shed light on many old problems, and we begin to understand something of the extent and significance of the Nabataean kingdom in its middle and later periods.

Dr. Glueck's technical reports have appeared in the *Bulletin* and the *Annual* of the American Schools of Oriental Research. The present volume is intended for the layman and is in substance the lectures he delivered in this country during the latter months of 1939 in the interests of the schools. For this reason it is a simple, untechnical account of the work being done by biblical archaeology, particularly as exemplified in this enterprise of locating and examining sites in Transjordania, in the discovery and examination of Solomon's copper mines and his seaport of Ezion-geber, in the search for traces of the ancient kingdoms of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Gilead, and in the new Nabataean discoveries. Not the least interesting part of the account is the exemplification of how the archaeologist utilizes all means available, from the primitive means of camel transport and digging by hand to the use of modern precision instruments and airplane reconnaissance. It is clearly and concisely written, lavishly illustrated by photographs and diagrams, and admirably indexed. The layman would have appreciated a more detailed map showing the situation of the various places mentioned in the text.

Columbia University. ARTHUR JEFFERY.

A History of the Delphic Oracle. By H. W. PARKE, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and Professor of Ancient History. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1939. Pp. viii, 457. 22*s.* 6*d.*)

L'Oracolo Delfico: Saggio di religione politica nel mondo antico. By CAROLINA LANZANI. (Genoa, etc.: Società Anonima Editrice Dante Alighieri, Albrighi, Segati e C. 1940. Pp. viii, 210. 35 l.)

THE saying "Religion's all or nothing" does not apply to ancient Greece, and Delphi affords a crucial instance. For a thousand years the oracle occupied a dignified position, as the infallible voice of Apollo, which very few people questioned; even Christian critics did not as a rule dismiss the operations of the oracle as involving nothing more than human trickery. Nevertheless, the words in which the Pythia's utterances were given forth came as

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a rule from the human professional representatives of the institution and provided endorsement rather than guidance. Influence and suggestion patently were at work and were freely imputed, though charges of bribery were rare, and even in the earlier times, when the sanctity and influence of the oracle were great, men did not scruple to use it in the ways of political interest. After all, Apollo was no Jehovah but a Greek, Protean like his worshipers.

H. W. Parke's *History* fills a marked need and fills it well. After discussing the origin and procedure of the oracle, he sets forth its history to the end of paganism, its place in Greek myth and religion, its attitude on moral questions, and its relation to the private inquirer (as contrasted with cities). He does this with sobriety, judgment, and knowledge and makes a number of good observations: *e.g.,* on the procedure of the oracle (pp. 18 ff.), on its connection with colonization (especially pp. 86 f.), on one Messenian legend (p. 98), on what Tyrtaeus has to say about Lycurgus (pp. 105 f.), on the oracle in relation to Spartan policy (pp. 112 ff.) and to Thessaly (pp. 119 ff., 171 f.), on the outcome of the First Sacred War as turning the inhabitants of Delphi into men living off the temple or, if you will, into a minute cathedral city (p. 125), on the Pythian games at Sicyon (p. 139), on the story of Croesus (pp. 149 ff.), on the prophecies before Salamis (pp. 183 ff.), on the Delian exiles (pp. 209 f.), on the Phocian use of the temple treasures (pp. 237 f.), on the legend of Philip's death (pp. 250 f.), on the part of the oracle in Greek mythology in general (p. 324), and on its rivalry with Ammon and Dodona (p. 377). The concluding chapter gives a very just summary of the general influence of Delphi. The reader will note certain omissions, *e.g.,* Tarn's view (*Hellenistic Civilization,* pp. 76 f., 96) of the significance of Delphi's part in recognizing the inviolability of cities and in promoting the manumission of slaves. On pages 162-63, apropos of the Alcmaeonidae at Delphi, a reference to C. T. Seltman, *Athens: Its History and Coinage,* pp. 79 ff., would be welcome. Certain views will provoke dissent. Since Parke wrote, the problem of why a woman delivered Apollo's oracles has been resolved by K. Latte, *Harvard Theological Review,* XXXIII (1940), 9 ff. On pp. 18 and 147, n. 3, the statements of Plutarch certainly suggest that the oracle could be consulted on one day only in the month (the seventh), but on this point see W. R. Halliday, *Greek Questions of Plutarch,* pp. 61 f. (above all his reference to Plutarch, *Alexander,* 14.6, on "unlucky days", when the oracle could not be consulted). Were delegates from cities with *promanteia* admitted on the seventh and on such other days as were not barred? On page 64 the wording of Strabo, IV, 179 C, makes it clear that the "oracle" received by the Phocaeans was some supernatural voice on the spot, as in Plutarch, *Publicola,* 9.6, pp. 67 f. May not some such oracles relating to cities be due simply to the desire to diversify prose narrative with little bits of verse—as we see it in Diogenes Laertius? On page 351, for the vase which shows the head of Orpheus prophesying see rather Nilsson's explanation, *Harvard Theol. Rev.,* XXVIII (1935), 193 f.

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Mr. Parke's book as a whole deserves warm praise. It will be of real service not only to students of Greek religion in particular but to others also as a vertical section through the life of the ancient world.

C. Lanzani's book is a preliminary study for a large work on religion in the ancient state. It is far less detailed than Parke's *History* and somewhat marred by very doubtful speculations of the Dionysiac element at Delphi and by an exaggeration of Delphic influence, which is found even in Diocletian (pp. 180 f.). Nevertheless, it is a convenient survey, with good observations on Delphi as a fountainhead of historical traditions (pp. 31 f., 109 f.), on Delphi and the Peace of Nicias (p. 55), and on Lucan, V, 115-20 (p. 151, n. 2). One sentence about the ancient attitude towards the oracle must be quoted: "Non è tanto la curiosità dell' avvenire, quanto la preoccupazione di operare in modo non disforme dal volere divino che lo determina" (p. 4).

Harvard University. ARTHUR DARBY NOCK.

Alexander the Great. By LEWIS V. CUMMINGS. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1940. Pp. v, 461. $3.75.)

THIS is an able presentation of the often told story of Alexander's life and exploits. The author tries to avoid the exaggerations of Alexander's admirers, who see in him a superhuman being, and of his detractors, who attribute his success mostly to his able generals and his extraordinary luck. As he himself states, he has personally explored some of the less well-known regions through which Alexander passed, and his interest in geographical questions, as well as his competence in this field, is conspicuous throughout the book.

The author's greatest handicap is his obvious lack of knowledge—or adequate knowledge—of the ancient and of some modern languages. Since without such knowledge it is impossible to become thoroughly familiar with ancient life and culture or to form well-founded opinions on questions of historical detail, the author would have done well to avoid such matters as far as possible. Wherever he touches them he commits numerous errors.

On page 84 he severely criticizes a statement of Berve and gives him a lecture on historical method, but he has misunderstood what Berve says. I agree with his opinion (p. 450, n. 1) that Alexander's Ὑπομνήματα, which are mentioned by Diodoros (VIII, 4, 2), were probably not a forgery (as Tarn assumes), but I would like to know the "many sources" mentioning this document of which the author speaks. His contention that the name of the "Pelasgians" originally meant "the old people" is perhaps the most thoroughly refuted of the numerous explanations of this name which have been given in ancient and modern times, nor is it easy to see why the author quotes Justinus, of all authors, for that name (p. 2). The notion that the opinions expressed by the characters in a drama are those of its author has been refuted in general as well as in its application to Euripides by the most illustrious literary critics of all nations since Aristotle. The author still uses

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disconnected lines from Euripides's plays in order to revive the old caricature of the embittered old man, soured by the unfaithfulness of two wives and cynically preaching justification of almost everything (p. 9). When ancient authors like Plutarch or Arrianus speak of Alexander's "chastity"—which is either σωφροσύνη or ἐγκράτεια—they do not mean that he refrained from all sexual intercourse, as the author assumes (p. 65), but that he did not spend most of his time running around with girls, as other princes did, and found other activities more important.

On the whole, however, and especially in those chapters which deal with Alexander's conquest of Asia, the author shows very sound judgment in the use which he makes of the ancient sources as well as of modern works on his subject. He has produced a sound and readable book for a larger public and has made some valuable contributions to our knowledge concerning certain questions of topography.

Columbia University. KURT VON FRITZ.

Immunità ecclesiastiche nel diritto romano imperiale. By GIANNINO FERRARI DALLE SPADE. [Estratto dagli Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti.] (Venice: Premiate Officine Grafiche Carlo Ferrari. 1939. Pp. 107-248.)

THIS is an important book. Ecclesiastical privileges and immunities were dominant institutional features of the Middle Ages, and this book is a study of the legal origins of these privileges and immunities. The period covered is that of the fourth and fifth centuries, for to this period belongs the greatest number of the imperial edicts which define the immunities of the church, and an analysis of these immunities is necessary for the understanding of their further development in the later Middle Ages both in the East and in the West. The author rightly contends that many questions associated with the problem of ecclesiastical immunities go back to this period of the Roman Empire. Indeed, many other institutions of the Middle Ages are traceable to the Roman institutions of the fourth and fifth centuries.

The task of the author was not an easy one. For to determine the exact immunities of the church it was essential to know the various imposts and obligations required of the subjects of the Roman Empire. These were many and varied. There were direct and indirect imposts, *corvées* of all kinds, ordinary and extraordinary exactions, imposts on houses and shops and on commerce. Nor is the exact nature of these imposts easy to determine, for while the Theodosian and Justinian codes contain valuable references to them, these references are tantalizingly brief and often obscure, and the other literary sources, if we except the papyri which throw some light on the internal conditions of Egypt, do not yield much additional information. Despite this difficulty the author has done a reasonably good job, and his book is not only an analysis of the immunities of the church but also a contribution to

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the history of the financial institutions of the later Roman Empire. For instance, his chapter on the immunities of the church from the obligations known as *munera sordida* and *extraordinaria* contains a careful analysis of these obligations. Likewise, the chapter on the privileges of the church in matters of commerce is elucidating, and the author's suggestion that the source material dealing with the *chrysargyron,* a tax which weighed heavily on commerce, needs to be re-examined should be taken up. Indeed, while the financial obligations of the agricultural classes in the later Roman Empire have been carefully examined in recent times, not much has been done on the imposts on commerce despite the fact that these imposts were important sources of revenue for the empire.

This book is not for the ordinary reader. It will appeal primarily to those scholars who are specially trained in the history of the later Roman Empire and are thoroughly acquainted with its sources. It might be best described as a monograph which will prove valuable to the historian who may undertake to write the institutional history of the later Roman Empire. The book suffers from the lack of an analytical index.

Rutgers University. PETER CHARANIS.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages: Outlines of a Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi. By RAYMOND KLIBANSKY, Lecturer in Mediaeval Philosophy, Oriel College, Oxford. (London: Warburg Institute. 1939. Pp. 58. 5*s.*)

Plato Latinus. Edidit RAYMUNDUS KLIBANSKY. Volumen I, *Meno interprete Henrico Aristippo.* Edidit VICTOR KORDEUTER. Recognovit et Praefatione instruxit Carlotta Labowsky. [Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi.] (*Ibid.* 1940. Pp. xxi, 92. 12*s.*)

IT is of course impossible to estimate now the ultimate significance of these small volumes for medieval studies. Even the most conservative critic, however, will recognize at once that their value as works of scholarship is in inverse proportion to their size. Every schoolboy knows that Aristotle had his medieval phase, but many scholars seem unaware or unwilling to admit that Plato, too, held a place of similar importance for many medieval men. The old story has been one wherein Plato, having had his day in antiquity and enjoying considerable renown in Hellenistic times, entered the medieval pattern only in Neoplatonic guise, there to remain until rescued for the modern world by the Platonists of the Renaissance. This theory Klibansky denies and refutes in clear and convincing terms. The key to his method is found in the word "continuity" in his title. In short, there was no hiatus in the Platonic tradition between antiquity and the Renaissance but a continuous if not always dominant recognition of Plato and the Platonic heri-

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tage. The line of continuity runs direct from the master himself through Chalcidius, the school of Chartres (especially William of Conches), the arts faculty of the thirteenth century University of Paris, and Nicholas of Cusa to Copernicus and the world of natural science. Klibansky will not complain if his contentions are not immediately acceptable, for he is the first to insist that they can be made so only by publication of the medieval Platonic corpus still in manuscript or so scattered that much of its import is not easily discerned. What he has discovered complements in an astonishing way Professor John Herman Randall, jr.'s brilliant essay on "Scientific Method in the School of Padua" (*Journal of the History of Ideas,* April, 1940).

The medieval Platonic tradition has three main currents which must be explored before sound conclusions can be attained. There is the Arabic tradition, through which Plato entered the Islamic world—not always directly but often through a Syrian medium. It is possible also that here there was direct transmission of materials from Byzantium to Baghdad. "At any rate it was of some moment that the Arabic world had Plato's works, not only with Neoplatonic exegeses, but with commentaries of an earlier stage of the philosophical development, less speculative and closer to the text." Then there is the Byzantine tradition, a tradition long suspected but still to be investigated. Here, it seems, the interdependence between Byzantium and the West in intellectual affairs is as clearly marked as it is in the realm of economic and political developments. The third tradition is the Latin—handed on to the Middle Ages vividly in Augustine and Boethius and no less forcefully in the works of those ancient "darlings" with whom medieval man so often felt as one—Cicero, Seneca, Aulus Gellius, Valerius Maximus, Apuleius, and Macrobius. The translations of ancient authors increased as the Middle Ages progressed—especially from the twelfth century on—and it is interesting to learn how dependent the scholars of the Renaissance were upon these medieval works. Plato was not overlooked, and it is these medieval translations of his works that are now to be put out in scholarly editions in this new corpus. The translation of the *Meno* by Henricus Aristippus, the twelfth century scholar, opens the series. There is a helpful introduction (in Latin), the text with variant manuscript readings, and two *Indices verborum—Graeco-Latinus* and *Latino-Graecus*. Before the study of the medieval Plato can be complete, the iconographical tradition too must be examined. How fruitful and illuminating such research promises to be is admirably illustrated by the plates given by Klibansky in his preliminary essay. Certainly scholars interested in the history of ideas will welcome these volumes. They may complain that Klibansky's essay should be many times its present length and lament the omission of all critical notes and bibliography. Klibansky would ask their indulgence until the *Plato Latinus,* at least, is complete. May this be soon.

Princeton University. GRAY C. BOYCE.

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La société féodale: Les classes et le gouvernement des hommes. Par MARC BLOCH, professeur à la Sorbonne. [L'évolution de l'humanité, XXXIV^bis.] (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1940. Pp. xvii, iv, 287. Plates VIII. 45 fr.)

IN his second volume on this subject the writer, who describes himself as *aux armées,* deals primarily with the period from about 1050 to 1250. His learning and long investigation make the presentation a notable one. The more important portions of the work are devoted to the origins and character of the nobility, the parceling out of powers of justice, and the feudal territorial scheme together with the reconstitution of states. A comparative treatment of the various feudal lands is continued, but most of the material is naturally from French sources.

The feudal nobility is shown to be something essentially new and not derived from the earlier nobility of blood. This appears very clearly in England, where the Norman Conquest suddenly threw the two types into juxtaposition. The professional warrior and the class of knights are the most important features of this change. Serjeants and serf *chevaliers* are treated chiefly as a part of the seigniorial domestic establishment, and *sergents* are equated with *ministeriales.* The peasantry and manorialism, as continuous factors, are on the whole taken for granted in this volume.

France is shown as the land of seigniorial justice *par excellence.* The history of the parceling out of judicial functions there is traced. The survival of the English courts of shire and hundred is shown to be a marked exception in this period. The section on principalities contains a treatment of the bishop as count and also an account of that peculiar official, the *avoué,* whose golden age is shown to have been in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The history of episcopal election is included, also a treatment of the nature of monarchy and of the principles of transmission of the royal power by election and by heredity.

The concluding sections are useful, though of course not always novel, as no general treatment of feudalism can be. There was no feudality in Scandinavia, Frisia, or Ireland. Feudalized lands were not everywhere feudalized in the same degree. In no country did the rural free population fall entirely into hereditary and personal bonds of dependence. Fiefs were large and small. Peasant warriors maintained themselves in Normandy, in Danish England, and in Spain. The idea of the state never disappeared entirely. The mutual oath as opposed to that of subordination triumphed in institutions of the peace and in the communes. The exceptional character of the Anglo-Norman monarchy is explained by the lateness of the Norman Conquest and by new material and moral conditions. Little notice is taken of landholding (something which may surprise the student of Domesday Book), though the basic factor of the whole development is seen in the fact that fiscal resources fell to the mercy of magnates who were alone capable of levying among their dependents the necessary troops. There are more convincing proofs of the

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feudal influence upon the English parliamentary system than the name knight of the shire.

University of California. WILLIAM A. MORRIS.

Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages: An Inquiry into the Growth of the Armorial Function of Heralds. By ANTHONY RICHARD WAGNER, Portcullis Pursuivant. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. ix, 157. $3.50.)

THE great days of heraldry are over. As a means of identification it has given place to the driver's license; as a device for introducing color into the decoration of the house and the appearance of apparel it has yielded to the modern interior decorator. As sign and seal of a social order whose return no one now desires, it has decayed with the decay of the reality it portrayed. Statements that one sometimes meets with in modern books as to the likelihood of its revival are absurd. Yet it is not quite dead. We use it still for architectural detail in churches and scholastic edifices. Corporate institutions still possess their seals and coats of arms, and the last war saw heraldic "badges" come into their own again in the form of divisional insignia.

As armor went out of fashion the blazon on shield and surcoat disappeared, and with their disappearance a good part of the herald's occupation was gone. The Renaissance, which drove out many medieval ideas, drove out at the same time those strong and simple ideas that animated the heraldry of the Middle Ages and in their places substituted its own set of platonic and fuzzy-minded generalizations. Blazons were devised for biblical patriarchs by its pedants, its rococo artists "prettified" the shape of the shield, and the exact and precise system of medieval symbolism was broken up by the general befuddlement which, despite all their benefits, the classics brought to the mind of the sixteenth century.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, saw improvement. Two outstanding antiquarians of their time, the late J. Horace Round and the late Oswald Barron, began the study of heraldry from the historic point of view. They laid many a heraldic ghost by means of their magazine, *The Ancestor,* and "rattled up" the College of Heralds, settled so firmly in its unmedieval practices, to general amusement and its own good. Within the past forty years public and private records ranging from the twelfth or thirteenth up to the nineteenth century have been carefully studied by contemporaries of Round and Barron who shared their beliefs or younger men inspired by their example or trained by their precepts—among them the late W. H. St. John Hope, E. E. Dorling, Esq., and S. M. Collins, Esq. In the United States the late P. deC. la Rose has done much to introduce good taste in matters armorial and has saved many an artist or architect from anachronisms or other *bêtises.*

While in England in 1937 your reviewer learned that the author of the present volume was considered a competent scholar, and his work bears out

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the reputation then given him. The book is a concise and well-documented account of the origins and early duties of the medieval herald and of his subsequent development into the quite remote and retired inhabitant of Q. Victoria St., London, E.C. 4.

Originally the heralds conducted tournaments, inspecting and passing on the contestants and their equipment and administering the simple justice which that mimic warfare required. In regions where there were no tournaments we do not find heralds. When they first appear (p. 26) they seem to be linked "as colleagues or as rivals" with minstrels. Like the minstrels, they "often led that wandering life which bore such rich fruit in medieval life and letters" (p. 31). "From Edward III's reign on . . . we shall see them entrusted, though sparingly at first, with military and diplomatic duties of steadily growing importance" (p. 33). So frequently did Edward III employ them that he seems to have created them as he needed them, and rapid creation naturally led to seniority of rank and finally (under Richard II) to the *coronation* of a king of arms or a king of heralds (p. 36). As a king, or as one of his subordinate heralds, our functionary enjoyed a "kind of general professorship of the science of chivalry" (p. 45).

More onerous duties were soon required. As coats of arms were multiplied by the use of various means of differencing and of escutcheons of pretense, etc., the tax on the herald's memory increased also. It became necessary for heralds to provide themselves with a roll of arms or list of armigerous persons. Hence the famous rolls of arms, which have been indispensable to the student of English medieval history (for a list of the chief English rolls see Mr. Wagner's *Historic Heraldry of Britain,* Oxford, 1939, pp. 25 ff.). All of these are lists of the names of particular knights or noblemen, with descriptions of their arms: some contain painted representations of the arms and are quite gorgeous affairs; others, mere verbal descriptions.

By 1421 the English government had compiled a set of "Ordinances and Statutes" for the reformation and good government of the office of arms (p. 59). Heraldry had become a thing of rules. Their own precedence, procedure, and duties having been regulated, the heralds began to busy themselves with the regulation of others, and thus began that series of visitations which in the latter part of the sixteenth and almost throughout the seventeenth century sent each herald (or his deputy) into his particular "March" to confirm arms to those who properly bore them and to "correct, deface, and take away all manner of arms wrongfully borne, or being false armory".

Mr. Wagner has written a thorough and scholarly book, but one for scholars and not for laymen. An appendix (there are several in the volume) treating of the vocabulary of heraldry might have been added. True, the book is not a "Guide", yet it would be hard to separate the history of heralds from the history of their language. If the reader should at times be led to forget that heraldry existed before a college of heralds, and not the reverse, the author would be among the first to regret such an impression.

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Hitherto teachers of medieval history or letters in this country have been a bit patronizing or contemptuous of heraldry or sigillography as subjects deserving of attention. But the students of heraldry have their hour when they see what results when a scholar, otherwise renowned in the field of medieval history, attempts to settle a point which requires for its solution a knowledge of seals and/or of blazonry!

Princeton University. HENRY L. SAVAGE.

The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif. By AUBREY GWYNN, S. J., Lecturer in History, University College, Dublin. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. x, 295. $5.00.)

MANY and various currents of religious and ecclesiastical thought were woven into the Wyclyfite movement, and the author of this work has rightly sensed, as a result of his researches into the intellectual atmosphere of the fourteenth century in Oxford, the need for a thorough study of the mind of the Augustinian Eremites (Ordo Sancti Augustini). The present work sheds light on many hitherto obscure corners of the history of the order and will have to be referred to by any investigator in the field of later medieval religious movements.

Perhaps because of the disparate nature of the material available as well as the issues involved, the organization of the work is somewhat inconsequent. The book is divided into five parts. Part I is a brief survey of the origins and organization of the order; Part II treats of the theology of leading Augustinians on the Continent—Giles of Rome, Thomas of Strassburg, and Gregory of Rimini; Part III discusses the Austin Friars in England from the Black Death to the end of the fourteenth century; Part IV is the story of William Flete, an English Augustinian who went to Italy in 1359 and stayed uninterruptedly until his death, at least twenty-one years later; Part V tells of the relations between Wyclyf and the English Augustinians. Only two of the five parts are thus really relevant to the title of the book. This lack of relevance is somewhat irritating to the reader. Particularly unsatisfying is the long chapter on William Flete, inasmuch as his three letters addressed from Lecceto in Italy to the English province in 1380 had little or no relation to the life and work of the English friars, coming from a friar who knew virtually nothing about the rapidly changing English situation at first hand. Part V, "Wyclif and the English Friars", adds almost nothing to the story as hitherto known and as told in great detail and with fuller documentation by Workman in his *John Wyclif* (1926).

In matters of detail Father Gwynn has obviously been very careful and conscientious, but exception must be taken to lack of precision at some points. On page 37 (n. 2) he says that Mariani *(Scrittori politici agostiniani del sec. xiv)* dates the composition of the *De regimine principum* of Giles of Rome as "some years later" than 1285. I do not find any such statement in Mariani. In general the bibliography for the political theory of the fourteenth century is weak. Recent important works of Lagarde, Berges, Gunnar Westin, and

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Arquillière *(L'Augustinisme politique,* 1934) have apparently not been consulted. On page 42 we find the astounding statement that Burley was an "outstanding master of the new nominalist school". The term "doctrine of double truth" applied to Ockham (p. 48 ff.) is hardly accurate. Gilson cleared up the proper use of this term in his *Études de philosophie médiévale* (1921), but this work is not referred to at all. On page 71 Wyclyf's *De civili dominio* is said to have been published in 1376. The fact is that it was published over a period of at least two years, perhaps three, 1375-77. On page 96 Gregory of Rimini is said to be "very probably the most distinguished theologian in Europe". This may be true, but it is not generally thought to be so. On pages 102-103 the reader who is conversant with Petrarch's life and thought will find an exaggerated judgment of the "decisive influence" of the Augustinian friars *as such* upon the humanist's life. In the chapter on Wyclyf and the friars there is no reference to Johann Loserth's significant *Studien zur Kirchenpolitik im 14. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1897, 1907). On page 235 Wyclyf's theory of lordship is said to have been "unquestionably founded on the doctrine of Giles of Rome". This novel assertion may conceivably be true, but Father Gwynn does not prove it, nor is any evidence adduced to show that Wyclyf even so much as knew the political writings of Giles. On page 237 reference is made to a commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* variously ascribed, but the recent (1933) definitive study of Ghisalberti on this commentary, which puts the authorship of Peter Bersuire beyond any reasonable doubt, is not mentioned. On pages 238-39 and 253 Father Gwynn attaches considerable importance to his conclusion that Adam Stocton himself made the correction of *venerabilis doctor* to *execrabilis seductor* in the Dublin manuscript (Trinity College MS. A. 5. 3.). I examined the manuscript in 1933 and felt then that the correction was obviously the work of a second hand. Several competent paleographers to whom I showed the correction agreed with that conclusion. At all events the identity of hand is disputable. On pages 276 ff. the date of Flete's death is discussed, but among the several conjectures that are referred to no mention is made of J. F. Ossiander's statements in his *Bibliotheca Augustiniana* (Ingolstadt, 1768, p. 344).

The desire of the author to fill a gap in our literature on the spiritual history of fourteenth century England is praiseworthy, but it is regrettable that his work shows such signs of haste in preparation and judgment that the reader should feel reserve concerning the conclusions reached on any given point.

University of Colorado. S. Harrison Thomson.

Die geistige Welt der Gotik und ihre Bedeutung für Italien. Von Georg Weise. [Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte.] (Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 1939. Pp. xix, 502. Plates xxii. 26 M.)

The author of this original work, who holds the chair of history of art at the University of Tübingen, divides his interest almost equally between the

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history of literature and the arts, linking both fields together by means of a stimulating comparative method. Corresponding to the peculiarities of style in the plastic arts, he finds a preference in any given age for certain *Modewörter* in literature—"fashionable words", which disclose the dominating ethical, aesthetic, and religious sentiments. His analysis of the Gothic period is built up on the observation of current key words with a courtly hue. (Lists of characteristic passages from sources are published in appendixes.) Following the same method, the period of the Renaissance and the baroque will be analyzed in a second volume (to be entitled *Die heroische Idealität der Renaissance und ihre Wurzeln im Humanismus),* the chief results of which are already available in two preliminary papers ("Der doppelte Begriff der Renaissance", in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte,* XI, 1933; and "Vom Menschenideal und den Modewörtern der Gotik und der Renaissance", *ibid.,* XIV, 1936).

The starting point of the volume under discussion is closely related to observations which have been emphasized in this country by L. J. Paetow, in his *Guide to the Study of Medieval History,* and H. O. Taylor, in his *Medieval Mind*—the fact that interest in the classical authors, after reaching an early climax in the twelfth century, on the eve of the Gothic age, was limited once more to a modest place in the scholastic synthesis in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These statements, Weise points out on the basis of exceptionally broad and valuable bibliographical references, have been fully confirmed by recent studies in related fields. In architecture and plastic art there was a similar acme of classicism and realism in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, followed by a decay of these tendencies, in proportion to the rise of the mature Gothic style. In the love poetry of the minstrels the road led from an open-minded attitude towards nature to a "narrowing down" of realism and to the emergence of the conventional, abstract, and spiritualistic patterns that are characteristic of courtly *Minnesang.* The lesson taught by these established facts is, as Weise interprets them, that the individualism, classicism, and realism of the proto-Renaissance about 1200 did not open up a direct avenue to the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. His chief contention is that this result is true not only of the countries north of the Alps but also of Italy. Almost half of the volume is devoted to proving that the age of Dante and Giotto meant for Italy a belated "Renaissance of the twelfth century" and that it was followed by a century in which Gothic mysticism and courtly outlook on life penetrated Italy to an extent generally unknown, including Petrarch and Boccaccio, down to the end of the trecento. "There was no straight-lined evolution in Italy from Giotto (and Dante) to the great minds of the quattro- and cinquecento", says Weise, any more than there was, north of the Alps, from the plastic art of the early Gothic cathedrals to Dürer (p. x).

Even if one questions this as an excessive claim, there is no doubt that any future discussion of the origins of the Renaissance will have to consider

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carefully this challenge to our present habit of looking at the Renaissance as an organic outgrowth of the Middle Ages, foreshadowed by the harbingers of realism in the preceding centuries. Some years ago J. Huizinga (in a paper on "Renaissance und Realismus") warned against regarding all signs of realism in the Middle Ages as symptoms of the approaching Renaissance, since realism in many ages "grows up now and then, often unexpectedly, only to disappear in time once more". With the work under discussion this warning has been put into the foreground of the debate on the vexed question of "proto-renaissances" in the Middle Ages and the relations between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Queens College. HANS BARON.

Histoire du moyen âge. Tome VII, *L'Europe occidentale de la fin du xiv^e^ siècle aux guerres d'Italie.* Première partie, *La France et L'Angleterre en conflit;* Deuxième partie, *Les premières grandes puissances.* Par JOSEPH CALMETTE, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Toulouse, et EUGÈNE DÉPREZ, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Rennes. [Histoire générale, publiée sous la direction de Gustave Glotz.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1937; 1939. Pp. xxi, 580; 646. 80 fr.; 90 fr.)

IT is seldom that scholars have the privilege of acclaiming such substantial products of the historian's art dealing with the closing Middle Ages as are here offered by the noted scholars Joseph Calmette and Eugène Déprez. Covering the difficult and complicated period of the fifteenth century, they deal with an age which witnessed the weakening of the unitary features so characteristic of medieval culture and beheld the rise of a new order, the modern state system with its rival systems of politics, antagonistic Christian groups, conflicting philosophies, national arts and literatures, and new tendencies in economics. But profound as the effects of these transformations have been upon civilization, we may hesitate to approve fully the statement in the introduction that the end of the century which witnessed the discovery of America and the sailing around southern Africa "underwent the most acute and most violent economic and social crisis in all history". One wonders whether the decay of the Roman Empire and the problems confronting the present age are not even more portentous.

These volumes undoubtedly constitute the most extensive and most competent survey of this age which we possess. Excellent as are the seventh and eighth volumes of the *Cambridge Medieval History,* the third of Lavisse and Rambaud's *Histoire générale,* Waugh's *A History of Europe, 1378-1494,* or Loserth's *Geschichte des späteren Mittelalters, 1197-1492,* they do not compare with these, at least insofar as they cover the same themes. The authors regard the growing monarchical power of England to the establishment of the Tudors, that of France to the fateful Italian wars, and the national unification of Spain under the leadership of Ferdinand and Isabella, with the extinction of the Moorish state of Granada, as the three themes about which

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the historical drama in western Europe during the fifteenth century unfolds. That this nationalistic trend is one of the features of the age is beyond question; it is well, therefore, that the development of these three states should be given the elaborate treatment which they deserve. But to the reviewer this seems like an excessive schematization dictated by the outcome of a historical development which no one living in 1475 could possibly have declared to be the dominant feature of the age. Further, this plan of treatment fails to do justice to smaller states such as Portugal, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian states in spite of their obvious importance in the European political scene. An exception is to be noted in the generally excellent though too brief treatment of the communities of the Low Countries which, together with the duchy and county of Burgundy, were joined to form the Burgundian state. And, finally, Italy and the Holy Roman Empire are passed by, possibly because they are not regarded as part of western Europe. As the prospectus does not appear to assign any place for the treatment of the history of these important states, one wonders where they will be dealt with.

From the standpoint of treatment, everything we may legitimately expect from the hands of masters whose names for years have been associated with the scholarly investigation of the later Middle Ages is to be found in these pages. The narrative abounds in sharp delineation of striking characters and in vivid scenes often enlivened with apt quotations drawn from the original sources. The text contains numerous footnotes and admirable bibliographies which ought to prove valuable for students as well as for specialists. The account is sober, accurate in detail, and a model in the critical evaluation of events. The authors have limited themselves to social and economic matters, other topics of the period being reserved for the eighth volume, which has not yet been published. Few strikingly novel interpretations are offered, nor are there many arrestingly new facts. Especially important is the last part of the second volume, which contains a lucid analysis of the administration, economy, and social organization of France, England (together with Scotland and Ireland), and Spain. In no other work will the student find such a helpful analysis of these factors, which must be comprehended if he is to study the novel political tendencies of the dawning modern age.

University of Washington. HENRY S. LUCAS.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Three Copernican Treatises: The "Commentariolus" of Copernicus, the "Letter against Werner", the "Narratio prima" of Rheticus. Translated with Introduction and Notes by EDWARD ROSEN. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Austin P. Evans, Editor.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. x, 211. $3.00.)

THIS is the first translation into English of any of the works of the famous astronomer. The *Commentariolus* is a preliminary outline by Copernicus of

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his heliocentric theory and differs somewhat from its final formulation; it was circulated only in manuscript copies. The *Narratio* is a later summary of the final theory by the astronomer's first disciple, written after two years of close association with the master and published three years before the latter's work *De revolutionibus* "to test public reaction to the innovations introduced by Copernicus" (p. 21). The *Letter against Werner* is included as the only other astronomical writing of Copernicus because "it throws light on the development of Copernicus's thought" (p. vii).

As far as a layman can judge, the translation seems to combine to an unusual degree lucidity, exactness, and thoroughness in dealing with doubtful points. But besides making accessible to the general reader the leading ideas of the initiator of modern astronomy, the book (with the translator's introduction and notes) makes a significant contribution to the history and sociology of knowledge.

The work of Copernicus was not only an important part of the intellectual upheaval which revolutionized the traditional view of the world; it was also one of the early steps in the development of those new methods and standards of knowledge which distinguish modern scientific thinking from ancient almost as much as from medieval scholarship. Many of the points raised by Mr. Rosen illustrate how slow has been this development. The old geocentric terminology, for instance, lagged behind the new thought. The problem of the substantiality and real essence of "celestial orbs" was left out of consideration as astronomically irrelevant; but no glimpse is seen of those new problems which culminated in the Newtonian theory of a functional relationship of forces determining the course of planets. A wide divergence between scientists appears as to the significance of a "hypothesis". The classical rational evidence of "axioms of physics" persists as a fundamental criterion of theoretic validity. And so on.

Sociologists will be interested, among other things, in the different devices used by Copernicus, Rheticus, and Ossiander to protect the innovator from being condemned as a rebel and in the various manifestations of social solidarity among scientific explorers which overcomes not only ethnical and political but even religious divisions.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Rosen will realize his plan mentioned in the preface and publish a translation of *De revolutionibus* as good and as interestingly annotated as the present book.

University of Illinois. FLORIAN ZNANIECKI.

La formation du capitalisme moderne dans la principauté de Liége au xvi^e siècle. Par JEAN LEJEUNE. [Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liége.] (Liége: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres; Paris: Librairie E. Droz. 1939. Pp. 364.)

THIS book is one of the last works of scholarship to come out of Belgium. Its author, one of Professor Harsin's students at the University of Liége, read the proof while he was in the army and was prevented from making an index

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by the pressure of military duties. The excellent bibliography, the full footnotes, and the frequent statistical tables are, however, a tribute to his care.

M. Lejeune wrote the book in the belief that though its subject was severely restricted in space and time it might still "throw on the international phenomenon of capitalism a clearer light than a brilliant dissertation which seeks to exhaust the whole subject, but rests on tenuous foundations". In other words, the author abandons the method of Sombart and the Germans. He does not start with a preconceived thesis and then seek to prove it by material culled here and there among various countries and centuries according to the secondary works available. On the contrary, after a minute examination of all the material available in the archives he describes and explains the development of capitalism in the sixteenth century in the principality and city of Liége.

His method is most rewarding, for it presents the material in its proper chronological and geographical context. It enables the author to show the slow development of business mechanisms from medieval toward modern forms. Most important, it makes it possible for him to isolate with some certainty the factors which permitted Liége, sacked and almost wiped out by Charles the Bold in 1468, to become a thriving center of early capitalism in the seventeenth century. First, the principality was neutral and escaped most of the ravages of war. Second, it had large supplies of coal, iron, and lesser minerals. Third, the continual wars after about 1570 gave an extended market for its munitions of all sorts. Fourth, the price rise after 1550 resulted in extra profits, though they went more often to capitalist middlemen than to the actual producers. The capitalists were called into being, or at least given golden opportunities, by the technical difficulties of operating coal mines at deeper and deeper levels, by the necessity of supplying materials like iron, coal, sulphur, or saltpeter in large quantities, by the trend toward mechanization in certain phases of the iron industry, and by the fact that the government had to raise large sums of money through loans and taxes more quickly and efficiently than could be done under the old methods. Some of the older business forms proved adjustable to the new needs. Most interesting, perhaps, were the coal companies, in which a group of capitalists financed the enterprise and then took profits not in money but in shares of the product.

In many ways the author's findings parallel those of Professor Nef and supplement those of Professor Harsin; in some cases they bear out, in others they controvert, the generalizations of Sombart. M. Lejeune's techniques are so sound, his approach so intelligent, his results so illuminating, that it is devoutly to be hoped that he will be spared to do the work that he has set himself on Liége in the seventeenth century and on the great munitions capitalist, Jean Curtius (1551-1628), whose career is here sketched in a score of pages.

Columbia University. CHARLES WOOLSEY COLE.

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Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Philip and Mary; Volume IV, *A. D. 1557-1558. Elizabeth;* Volume I, *1558-1560.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1939. Pp. vii, 665; vii, 734. $9.00; $10.30.)

THESE two volumes complete the survey of the patent rolls for the reign of Mary and for the first year of the reign of Elizabeth. The one for Mary has been edited by M. S. Giuseppi, who edited all the previous volumes of that reign; the one for Elizabeth by J. H. Collingridge, one of the assistant keepers of the English Public Records. Both of them follow in the main the conventional pattern already established. In the Elizabethan volume some changes have been made in calendaring the enrollments. The records of land transfers have been abbreviated by omitting the descriptions of the lands in question and the names of the tenants occupying them. The omission of tenants' names is to be regretted since one of the important services of the patent rolls is in the identification of otherwise obscure people. So, too, in grants of pardon details of the offense pardoned are often omitted, a matter of some importance in the history of treason and crime. But the editors have to choose between getting on with their endless task and recording everything, and perhaps we had better have a briefer review which covers more ground than a complete review which moves at a snail's pace. Any basis of selection will inevitably be unsatisfactory to somebody.

The subjects covered in these volumes are mostly, as heretofore, grants of land, crown leases, licenses to alienate land held of the crown, appointments to crown offices, appointments to benefices, pensions, and pardons. There are a few charters of incorporation of new boroughs, a few charters of trading companies, a few of grammar schools. There is a good deal on trade. A few patents throw light upon the diversion of the wool trade following the fall of Calais, which are particularly useful since they contain apparently a full list of the Merchants of the Staple; a few reveal the licensing of trade with France before the war with that country was formally terminated; a few continue the established practice of granting licenses to export unfinished cloth. There is an enrollment of the Book of Rates of 1558, long thought to be the first book issued. Unfortunately, the calendared version gives no details although the only other recorded copy is an imperfect one (*cf.* Gras, *The Early English Customs System,* p. 125).

Neither of these volumes contains much political information. A list of pardons, mostly for simple folk in Kent, issued in June, 1558, is perhaps another evidence of Mary's merciful disposition towards those who participated in Wyatt's revolt. Another of Mary's pardons identifies the author of John Bradforth's well-known attack upon Philip II (printed in Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials,* III, Part II, 339 ff.) as John Capstoke, yeoman and servingman. One would like to have more details about the offenses of those pardoned by Elizabeth during the first year of her reign, some three thousand

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of them all told, including two chief justices, half a dozen prominent London merchants, such outstanding prelates as Cuthbert Tunstall and Edwin Sandys, and such prominent men of affairs as John Hales, Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir Nicholas Bacon. A reference to Francis Walsingham in January, 1560, gives us the earliest record we have of his return from exile. Of Cardinal Reginald Pole we hear much, of Sir William Cecil and Lord Robert Dudley little or nothing, certainly not enough to verify the unique positions they held in Elizabeth's regard.

The material presented is in the aggregate exceedingly important. It is carefully edited and admirably indexed, though we would have welcomed, in addition to the exhaustive listing of persons and places, a more adequate subject analysis.

University of Pennsylvania. CONYERS READ.

The Privy Councillors in the House of Commons, 1604-1629. By DAVID HARRIS WILLSON, Assistant Professor of History, University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 332. $6.00.)

THIS is the most important monograph on the history of the English parliament in the early seventeenth century that has appeared since the publication fifteen years ago of Professor Notestein's *Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons*. One of the principal reasons why that initiative passed to the commons was the rapidly declining influence of the privy councillors in the lower house from 1604 to 1629. It is this subject which Professor Willson has expanded and critically examined far beyond its treatment in that brilliant essay by Professor Notestein. In a book where scholarship and learning on every page vie with an excellent style for the reader's attention the author has presented with a wealth of illustration numerous reasons for the failure of privy councillors to guide the interests of the crown in the house of commons at a time when relations between king and parliament were going from bad to worse.

Professor Willson's book is packed with apt and brief quotations from letters, diaries, and official records which illustrate and clarify the well-stated reasons why the king's eyes, ears, and mouth among his faithful commons were growing dimmer, deafer, and more silent as one parliament succeeded another after the death of Queen Elizabeth. In describing the preparations the councillors made for a meeting of the commons, the author shows how well the earl of Salisbury did this work for the first parliament of James. But after that preparations consisted chiefly in searching for concessions which would induce the commons to vote supply. When it came to placing councillors in parliament the first two Stuarts made grave mistakes in selecting the proper men and consequently were "poorly represented by their councillors in parliament". These were "either too old, or too inefficient, or too

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cringing to the great, or too arrogant to their inferiors, or too engrossed in their administrative duties, or too ignorant of English affairs, or too inexperienced in the house of commons" (p. 98). During the 1620's the attack upon the councillors in the commons was becoming increasingly severe. They were rapidly losing prestige and influence, which was to a considerable extent due to the much greater use of committees, particularly of the committee of the whole. The councillors' defense of government policy was growing continually weaker because the government was vulnerable on a great many counts and because its cause was a bad one. Moreover, the characters and personalities of James and Charles were a severe handicap even to the best councillors in the commons. In contrast to the fair success of Salisbury as a parliamentary manager Professor Willson presents abundant evidence of the complete failure in this respect of the duke of Buckingham, which was accompanied by an acceleration in the decline of the influence of councillors in the house of commons.

It is in the chapter on "Buckingham and the Management of Parliament" that I have found the only weakness in a book which is distinguished for its strength. In this chapter the author moves from the last parliament of James through the first three of Charles, and his movements would sometimes bewilder the uninitiated reader. At times his subject and illustrations carry him back and forth from one parliament or session to another. Thus on page 199 he is talking about the session of 1629 in one paragraph, and without any indication whatsoever he jumps back in the next paragraph to the session of 1628. A more careful organization of this difficult chapter might have avoided such seeming confusion. A disputable point in this chapter is Professor Willson's statement about Buckingham in the session of 1626. He says that "the majority of the lords were now against him" (p. 194). But if that was the case, why did the lords refuse to arrest Buckingham when the commons made this request during the impeachment proceedings of that session? Why, also, did they fail to proceed with the impeachment?

Many of the footnotes may be confusing to some readers, as in numerous cases all the authorities for the information in a paragraph are cited in a single footnote instead of appearing in separate notes after each quotation or statement of fact. But it is difficult to see how else the thousands of references could have been cited without overburdening each page with the visible trappings of learning. Finally, to a good index and a long list of abbreviations might have been added a bibliography, which would have helped the reader who is not satisfied with a complete citation of a work in the first footnote in which it appears.

These are minor criticisms, however, and should not be taken to imply any questioning of the value of a book, teeming with the parliamentary life and strife of the seventeenth century, which deserves nothing but praise.

New York University. HAROLD HULME.

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The Royal Prerogative, 1603-1649: A Study in English Political and Constitutional Ideas. By FRANCIS D. WORMUTH, Formerly Sterling Fellow at Yale University, Instructor in Government at Indiana University. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1939. Pp. x, 124. $2.00.)

THE reviewer has already commented (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 602-604) on the difficulties encountered by anyone who undertakes to write a history of political theory, particularly in the early Stuart period. To all the obstacles previously mentioned there has been added, in Dr. Wormuth's case, a severe handicap in the matter of available space. For in expanding his Cornell doctoral dissertation the author, naturally enough, found it desirable to deal with a much broader field than the history of theories about the prerogative itself. The result is that he has attempted to give in very small compass a description and analysis of royalist and parliamentary thought on virtually every controversial issue in the first half of the seventeenth century. Besides the prerogative he considers the nature of the state, the right of private property, the origin of government, the question of sovereignty, the theory of divine right, and the role of parliament in the government of the day.

A salutary effect of this enlargement of the original work is to demonstrate to the reader the extreme complexity of the problem with which Dr. Wormuth is dealing and in fact the complexity of any similar topic which one might select in this field. For it soon becomes clear that the two main schools of thought (royalist and parliamentary) were both made up of a number of components, each with its own peculiar approach and on some points agreeing rather more with thinkers in the rival camp than with colleagues. The effort to put so much in so little space, however, is perhaps responsible for such apparent distortions as the portrayal of James I as a "constitutional monarch". While the naturalistic strain in the Stuart ruler's thought is quite properly emphasized, if a fair balance is to be struck, the long exposition in the *Trew Law of Free Monarchies* of the establishment of the kingship among the ancient Hebrews surely calls for more attention than it here receives. And one must regret the omission from this volume of such material in the original thesis as the later history of the influence of Coke's decision in Bonham's case. It is to be hoped that the author will yet find a way of setting forth in print—and at adequate length—this and other results of his studies.

Michigan State College. M. M. KNAPPEN.

Trade and Peace with Old Spain, 1667-1750: A Study of the Influence of Commerce on Anglo-Spanish Diplomacy in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century. By JEAN O. MCLACHLAN, Formerly Research Fellow of Girton College. With a Foreword by the Late Professor Harold Temperley. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xvi, 249. $3.50.)

THIS is a scholarly and well-written account of the influence of commercial considerations on Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. During this period England's

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policy was modified by the determination of the government to pursue a path that would allow the continuation of her traders' efforts to expand their trade in the West Indian areas at the expense of Spanish holdings and pretensions there and, at the same time, permit them to retain the profitable market—built up through years of effort—for manufactured goods in the Spanish peninsula. The importance of the influence exerted on the diplomacy of the period by England's interest in trade to Old as well as to New Spain has been pointed out before but not with the emphasis and illustrative detail that it receives here. The work rests on a commendably thorough study of the records in both English and Spanish archives and of a wide range of published materials in the field. Decided views are clearly expressed with arguments convincingly assembled and, on the whole, adequately substantiated by references to source materials. More notice of the contemporary rival French trade in the Spanish peninsula as well as of earlier and later developments in Anglo-Spanish relations would have related this able monograph more closely to its general field.

Comparing the older peninsular trade, "an essentially healthy trade benefiting both countries", with the limited direct trade to the Indies permitted to the South Sea Company under the Asiento agreement, Miss McLachlan emphasizes that the former was of considerably greater value and rightly remarks that "neither the Asiento trade in negroes, even when supplemented by the irregular voyages of the annual ships, nor the illicit trade that it covered justified the expectations of the peacemakers of 1713". English merchants involved in illicit trade to the Indies and the directors of the South Sea Company share the blame for the breakdown of the negotiations in the crisis which ended in the War of Jenkins's Ear.

Among the most useful chapters of this book are those that elucidate the complicated negotiations of the treaties of 1713-16 and of 1750. Bubb's commercial treaty of 1715 is given the place of honor that it deserves, though the author points out that it remained for years more important politically than as a commercial reality. In the negotiations of 1750 Carvajal is given much of the credit for a "highly successful agreement" that "laid the foundation for seven years of friendly relations between England and Spain". In an appendix on Josef Patiño there is an interesting study of another Spanish chief secretary of state.

The original intention of this volume was that it should be the first of a series of studies in political and diplomatic history to have been edited by the late Professor Harold Temperley. The series has now been indefinitely postponed.

Smith College. VERA BROWN HOLMES.

Horace Walpole: A Biography. By R. W. KETTON-CREMER. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1940. Pp. 368. $3.00.)

MR. Ketton-Cremer's Horace Walpole is the Walpole of the correspondence, a rather superficial and probably somewhat fictitious personality

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whom Walpole himself was content that we should know. Whether this character is the real Walpole, or even the man known to the house of commons, to his friends, his enemies, his relatives, or his servants, is open to question. Whether a biographer could ever unearth Horace Walpole from the welter of letters which inevitably form the chief source for his life may be doubted, for the cultivated detachment of those letters and Walpole's own admonitions to his correspondents tend to obscure rather than reveal whatever depths of character he may have had. Mr. Ketton-Cremer's biography, at any rate, can hardly be described as original in either subject matter or interpretation but rather as the more faithful delineation of a figure already familiar in its broad outlines. The facts of Walpole's life are here related with scholarly regard for accuracy, and the literary effect is one of objectivity, careful selection of detail, artistic balance, and proportion.

Long a student of Walpole and his times, Mr. Ketton-Cremer is now a member of the advisory committee for the Yale edition of the Walpole correspondence. He acknowledges his obligation to Mr. Lewis, editor of the correspondence, for the use of manuscripts, books, portraits, drawings, and other items which once formed a part of Walpole's own collection of treasures at Strawberry Hill. Of the unpublished letters those of Horace Mann are most effectively used by Mr. Ketton-Cremer to furnish interesting details for his account of the Italian journey. Throughout the book the author appears to have treated Walpole's interest in architecture, painting, and other forms of art with particular understanding, though not with undue emphasis. For this reason the chapters on Walpole's later years, when, in retirement from politics and social activities, he devoted himself to the quieter pleasures of Strawberry Hill, seem to this reviewer most memorable. For a critical evaluation of Walpole's writings the student of literature will continue to have recourse to other works in English and in French. Mr. Ketton-Cremer's factual biography, readable and carefully documented, will furnish the general reader with a useful introduction to Horace Walpole's varied activities and a valuable guide to his correspondence.

Wilson College. DORA MAE CLARK.

The American Department of the British Government, 1768-1782. By MARGARET MARION SPECTOR. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. 181. $2.25.)

THERE were four secretaries of state for the American department during the fourteen years of its existence: Hillsborough, Dartmouth, Germain, and, for a few months, Welbore Ellis. Two of them, Hillsborough and Germain, were able and forceful men, while two of the undersecretaries, John Pownall and William Knox, were men of unusual capacity and had had long and intimate connection with colonial affairs. Yet it is not too much to say that not one of them, nor the colonial office as the department of government most vitally concerned, was responsible for a major policy or decision during this

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most crucial period. (One might make an exception of Hillsborough's vote in cabinet to retain the tax on tea, while Mrs. Spector tells us that John Pownall sponsored the Boston Port Bill.) On the other hand the privy council refused to follow Hillsborough in his opposition to western expansion; the Revolution began while the kindly Dartmouth, a true friend of the colonies, was American secretary; Germain had almost complete responsibility for the conduct of the war, but he was barely informed of the project of the peace commission of 1778. These considerations raise intriguing questions.

Mrs. Spector, however, is concerned only incidentally with matters of policy: her monograph deals mainly with the organization and operation of the American department. She reviews the history of its establishment and concludes that its creation was "obviously the result of maneuvers for the restoration of political equilibrium", that its advent represented a triumph for the "King's system", and that those responsible for it had "only a secondary concern for the improvement of colonial administration". Its abolition, as well, was due to political considerations—a triumph for the enemies of the king's system. In spite of the real need for an effective colonial establishment, a need which had long been recognized by such men, among others, as Lord Halifax and Thomas Pownall, the aura of political jobbery which surrounded it made it an unwelcome member of the political family and made it easy prey for the two "ancient secretaries", who were very successful in filching colonial business away from it. Mrs. Spector believes that this goes far toward explaining the relative ineffectiveness of a department which should have been the most important in the government. There is still room for a more detailed study of the genesis of American policy during the prerevolutionary years, although material bearing directly on this subject is almost nonexistent.

What Mrs. Spector does do, authoritatively and once for all, is to describe the actual organization of the colonial office and to explain its relations and contacts with the other departments of government. Particularly valuable is the sketch of William Knox in a chapter devoted to the undersecretaries. It is to be hoped that she will continue her study of his career and in so doing throw light on those points of the development of colonial policy which are still obscure.

Dartmouth College. ARTHUR H. BASYE.

Correspondance de Félix Faulcon. Tome I, *1770-1789.* Publiée par G. DEBIEN. [Archives historiques du Poitou.] (Poitiers: Société des Archives historiques du Poitou. 1939. Pp. xlvii, 357.)

FÉLIX Faulcon was born at Poitiers in 1758, of a family which may be classified as middle bourgeois. When he was twenty-four years old, his father bought for him the office (or charge) of *conseiller du roi au présidial,* and he settled down at his birthplace to the respectable life of a provincial magistrate. The stirring events of 1789 brought him to Versailles and Paris. In the Constituent Assembly he sat among the deputies of the left center, but he

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was inconspicuous and almost inarticulate. At the end of 1791 he returned to his native province greatly disillusioned and sought escape from the turbulence and dangers of the time in obscurity. In 1795 he re-entered political life, sitting as deputy in the Cinq-Cents under the Directory and in the Corps législatif under the empire. After the restoration of the monarchy he returned to Poitiers, where, surrounded by admiring friends and relatives, he lived quietly until death overtook him in 1841.

Early in life Faulcon adopted the practice of keeping the personal letters which he received and of retaining copies of those which he sent. In addition to these records he began to keep a journal in 1780, and during his political life he made occasional contributions to the press. From time to time, in moments of leisure, he arranged his papers systematically, both manuscript and printed, and had many of them bound. After his death this literary heritage was somewhat dispersed among his heirs, but during the last forty years it has been collected for the most part and deposited in the Archives départementales de la Vienne at Poitiers.

M. Debien prefaces the volume with an excellent biographical sketch of Faulcon, an inventory of his papers, and a bibliography of his printed works. The *Correspondance,* which consists of letters to and from Faulcon and extracts from his journal, is arranged in chronological order, covering the period from January, 1770, to November, 1788. Perusing these letters and extracts, the historian gleans little information of a strictly political nature, but he gets an interesting glimpse of the life lived by the *petite* and *moyenne bourgeoisie* in the old province of Poitou on the eve of the great Revolution. Presumably other volumes will follow. The editorial work is well done—according to French standards; but the reviewer for one deplores the French editorial practice of modernizing the orthography of eighteenth century records and correcting grammatical errors. M. Debien deemed it necessary even to translate into French a youthful Italian exercise (pp. 230-31), merely informing the reader in a footnote that the original was in Italian. For the cause of biography and social history how much better it would be to have the printed source material as nearly like the original as printer's ink can make it.

University of North Carolina. MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

The Rôle of the Priest on the Parisian Stage during the French Revolution. By KENNETH N. MCKEE. [The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1939. Pp. 126. $1.25.)

DR. McKee appears to belong to that relatively small group of students who evince consciousness of the fact that, despite the irregularities and abnormalities to which every phase of French existence was subjected between 1789 and 1799, there was, nevertheless, an active cultural life. And he is to be congratulated for having joined that still smaller group who believe

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that the cultural life of the French Revolutionary epoch is a fit subject for scholarly research and who, moreover, do something about it.

The title of this little book is self-explanatory, and the author diligently adheres to his topic from the Constituent Assembly to the Napoleonic Concordat. Nor does he profess the omniscience so frequently manifested in doctoral dissertations (of which, incidentally, this happens to be one); on the contrary, he prefers to admit that he has not used every play in which a priest appears, that he recognizes the propagandist and nondescript character of most of the Revolutionary dramatic creations, and that he is concerned primarily with the interplay of public opinion and theatrical productions. He tells his story in a straightforward (albeit somewhat seminarish) manner, emphasizing the "how" and "why" of the appearance, disappearance, and reappearance of priests on the stage of revolutionary Paris, why at some times they were reviled and at others revered, and why they ultimately disappeared entirely with the rise of Napoleon; and, partly through liberal excerpts from the plays, partly through explanatory footnotes, he affords a suggestive cross section of the theatrical life of the French capital during the great Revolution.

Unfortunately, the introduction is thin and errs, to some extent, in matters of historical fact: the Edict of Tolerance came into being but was not "re-established" in 1787, and it was not a result of the intellectual exhaustion of the Roman Church; it is debatable if the "deism of the fifties and sixties developed into atheism during the seventies and eighties"; and the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789 was adopted in August and not in October. The conclusion is disappointing in that it is a summary rather than a critical evaluation. And the bibliography raises the question of whether graduate students are never taught (or simply never learn) the enviable technique of preparing a good critical bibliography.

To the present reviewer the significance of Dr. McKee's work lies principally in the fact that it is a study in the cultural history of the French Revolution. May it awaken more students of that period to a realization that, in addition to political turmoil, economic unrest, social conflict, religious antagonism, and civil and foreign war, the familiar forms of cultural activity enjoyed a thriving existence, and that, whatever their inherent defects, however transitory their substance, they merit serious consideration if only as integral parts of the propagandist movement of the Revolutionary period.

Western Reserve University. JOHN HALL STEWART.

The Colonial Administrations of Sir Thomas Maitland. By C. WILLIS DIXON. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1939. Pp. viii, 274. $5.00.)

"KING Tom" Maitland was perhaps the ablest and certainly the most picturesque of British proconsuls in the Napoleonic Age, and a well-documented survey of his activities in the Far East and the Mediterranean was needed for a better understanding of imperial expansion in that period. "An ape of Bonaparte", as he was characterized by Sir George Cornwall Lewis

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twenty years after his death, Maitland made a lasting reputation for vigor and honesty as well as for his autocratic methods of administration. His political philosophy, in spite of his brief flirtation with Whig reformers in the early days of the French Revolution, seems to have been formed in the patriarchal tradition of the Scottish border clan of which his father was chief, and his early experience as an officer in a Scots regiment in India undoubtedly reinforced his admiration for benevolent despotism, strongest, of course, when he could be the despot. As a matter of fact his views on the government of dependencies were usually in complete harmony with those of Lords Bathurst and Castlereagh, and his good fortune in not having to deal with any subjects of the British crown who could successfully claim the protection of the English common law saved him from the embarrassments which were encountered by his countryman, Macquarrie, in New South Wales during the same period.

Mr. Dixon's monograph is based on careful study of the dispatches in the Public Record Office from Ceylon, Malta, and the Ionian Islands. One of the most interesting episodes of Maitland's career, the evacuation of the remnants of the British regiments from Santo Domingo in 1797, is referred to only briefly in the first chapter. The later chapters give a detailed treatment of the development of the island dependencies under Maitland. While there is little new material in the chapters on Ceylon, the sections on the Mediterranean dependencies were much needed, and it is amusing to read today the story of how Maitland assisted the British ministers in evading the promise of the Treaty of Paris that the Ionian Islands should form a "single, free, and independent state" under British protection and how he set up a "constitutional chart" which placed autocratic powers in the hands of the British commissioner.

It is probably unfair to blame Mr. Dixon for not adding very much to the picture of "King Tom" already familiar to students of the period, since apparently no private papers were available. There is more cause for criticism in his failure to connect the particular problems in the islands over which Maitland ruled with the more general problems of imperial administration. Any new light on the administrative history of Ceylon, for instance, would have to come from a careful comparison with developments in Indian government, yet Mr. Dixon seems to have made no use of any of the recent studies of the reorganization of Indian administration such as the one given by Holden Furber in his *Henry Dundas*. He also has apparently overlooked the chapters on Ceylon in the *Cambridge History of British India,* in Cyril Parkinson's *Trade in the Eastern Seas,* and in the reviewer's *British Colonial Government after the American Revolution*. Such errors as have been noticed are due to lack of familiarity with administrative detail, as on page 22, where it is stated that the union of civil and military powers in Maitland's hands was "unusual". Actually it was the almost universal rule in the colonies dur-

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ing the Napoleonic period. In general, however, the volume deserves praise for its accuracy and fairmindedness.

Bryn Mawr College. HELEN TAFT MANNING.

Lord Ellenborough: A Biography of Edward Law, Earl of Ellenborough, Governor-General of India. By ALBERT H. IMLAH, Professor of History, Tufts College. [Harvard Historical Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 295. $3.50.)

PROFESSOR Imlah's study, based on ample materials, is an important addition to understanding of a period which, despite admirable work in the *Cambridge History of India,* is still inadequately dealt with. Well over half the book treats of Lord Ellenborough's twenty-nine months in India from 1842 to 1844, one of the shortest and stormiest of a governor-general's terms and the only one ending in recall by the company's directors. Ellenborough had such a bad press in his lifetime that his reputation has never recovered. His biographer is thus presented with the opportunity of vindicating a career that has rarely been viewed with sympathy, and this he has done with clarity and discrimination. Ellenborough is effectively cleared of most of the odium attached to his name by Macaulay and other political enemies. On the whole his Indian policies were wise and farseeing. In spite of the notorious blunder about the spurious gates of Somnath, he did a good job in clearing up the mess created by the Afghan policy of his predecessor; it seems a real achievement to have pursued the policy of withdrawal and restored the morale of the army at the same time. The annexation of Sind is not so clearly a ground for praise, but it is at least shown how completely the new chief was the prisoner of events before his time. In the field of administration Ellenborough's aims were admirable, his achievements not great. One cannot help wishing that he might have had longer to work for better financial control, more public works, and a more vigorous public service. He was defeated by his own personality and by that very closer connection with England by steam which as president of the board of control he had urged so keenly.

As a monograph on the governor-general's work and the politics of his recall the book is not only a desirable corrective but probably definitive. As a biography it is somewhat disappointing. Ellenborough the public figure, able, earnest, conceited, and impatient, is faithfully portrayed, but the rest of the man is shadowy. Though his early life and marital difficulties are described, he moves through the book almost totally devoid of private life and friends; his last twenty-seven years, during which he twice held cabinet office, are disposed of in hardly more space than that devoted to his removal from India. Yet it is not clear that the biographer could have done differently: this proto-Curzon, devoted to the people of India and not understanding the people of England, lacked his Harold Nicolson.

Clark University. H. DONALDSON JORDAN

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A Hundred Years of Economic Development in Great Britain. By G. P. Jones, Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Sheffield, and A. G. Pool, Lecturer in Economics in the University of Sheffield. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. 420. $4.50.)

In the preface to this volume the authors indulge in some broad characterizations of the past hundred years of English history. One of these is "an unprecedented faith in healing, if caustic, truth". As long as English historians, in a world of historical suppression and distortion, continue to send out such honest and frank accounts of recent and contemporary history as are exemplified by this unpretentious but not insignificant volume, their American colleagues may well renew their faith that the integrity and courage which have thus far saved the sturdy English flame from extinction will assure its continued survival.

Acknowledgment is made by the authors of their great indebtedness to Dr. Clapham. The variety of details and even the manner of presentation seem to owe much to his extensive *Economic History of Modern Britain,* and the effect is somewhat like that of the adaptation of the materials of a major play to a miniature stage. The style is often needlessly harsh and unattractive, as in the first two sentences of the paragraph beginning on page 35. The considerable statistical burden borne by almost every page suggests too close a conformity, at least for easy reading, to Sir William Petty's advice that "no word might be used but what marks number, weight, or measure".

Many readers and teachers, however, no doubt prefer such a plain and highly condensed account as is here made available. The amount of condensation required is reduced by the omission of many topics commonly included in economic histories. "Our purpose", the authors explain, "has not been to write a general economic history, still less a social history, as those are commonly understood. . . . We are concerned broadly with changes in the methods of producing wealth and distributing goods and services, and in the types of organization and forms of association developed for those purposes, in what appear to us to be the more important industries and trades."

There are three parts, corresponding to the three periods 1837 to 1875, 1875 to 1914, and 1914 to 1939. The main emphasis is on the major technological and organizational changes in important industries or groups of activities, such as transportation and communication, agriculture, textiles, iron and coal, and the related engineering industries. For each period short accounts are given of changes in business organization (joint-stock companies, private companies, co-operatives, public corporations), and there are also brief discussions of labor unions and of public measures affecting labor. Part III, on the period from 1914 to 1939, includes a convenient view of the changing economic landscape with the regional and economic redistribution of employment and investment that accompanied the recent contraction of many of Britain's historically ascendant industries. The concluding section,

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on "taxation and redistribution", describes the processes that have resulted in "a modest transference of income from the richer classes to the poorer" since the World War.

Washington, D. C. WITT BOWDEN.

Du libéralisme à l'impérialisme, 1860-1878. Par HENRI HAUSER, professeur honoraire à la Sorbonne, JEAN MAURAIN, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Lille, PIERRE BENAERTS, agrégé de l'Université. [Peuples et civilisations, Histoire générale, publiée sous la direction de Louis Halphen et Philippe Sagnac.] (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan. 1939. Pp. 555. 70 fr.)

THIS is the seventeenth volume of the co-operative series which is appearing under the editorship of Louis Halphen and Philippe Sagnac. Professor Hauser, who wrote most of the chapters on colonial expansion and the general political sections, was drawn into the work because of the untimely death of Dr. Louis Eisenmann. The economic and social sections are by Dr. Benaerts, and the more distinctly political and national chapters, like those on the domestic history of France, Belgium, Italy, and England, were done by Dr. Maurain, who also contributed those on the church and developments in the field of religion.

As a volume in comprehensive and semipopular history of civilization the work is a good example of the type of historical writing the French do so well. The style is clear and direct, reflecting the mastery of the subject which comes only from mature scholarship. On the other hand, the distribution of space at times is quite unorthodox as a result, no doubt, of the special interests of the authors. For example, in Book III, which deals with intellectual, social, and technical changes, science and philosophy get fourteen pages and industrial and agricultural changes nineteen as against seventy-six pages devoted to the conflict of science and religion.

In general this section has a rationalistic and anticlerical bias, which often reveals a very close parallelism with Andrew D. White's *Conflict of Science and Religion*. The brief treatment (thirty-one pages) of literature, art, and music is good, but it is relatively too sketchy on these significant aspects of the cultural history of the period. Despite its brevity the section deals with an intriguing variety of topics, including the decline of romanticism, the growth of realism and naturalism, the Russian novel, the drama of Scandinavia, and Spanish and American literature. Readers of Octave Aubry's *Second Empire* will be struck by the difference between the treatment by the novelist and that by the trained historian, as seen in this volume.

Unlike so many co-operative histories, this makes a commendable attempt at synthesis and a general interpretation to which the developments in particular fields are more or less closely integrated. The period opened, the authors point out, with a strong current in the direction of liberalism in political, economic, and international life. In contrast, by the end of the period (1878) the forces of conservatism were in full swing—reaction in

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religion, the assertion of force in political and international relations, and the role of power politics in European expansion preparing the way for economic nationalism and imperialism. The earnest of good things to come, seen in the unification of Italy and Germany, the triumph of the republicans in France, the free-trade trends of the sixties, the cutting of the Suez Canal, the emancipation of the serfs of Russia and the slaves in the United States, political and social reform in England, the appearance of Darwin's *Origin of Species* and Berthelot's *Organic Chemistry,* Pasteur's establishment of the principle of immunity, and the advent of the laboratory, was largely lost or unfulfilled. The great potentialities for freedom and further progress latent in these things were, so it is suggested, taken in hand by conservative groups who assumed control of the new tools of production and of wealth and turned them to account for the bourgeoisie and capitalism.

Secondary rather than primary sources appear to have furnished the basis for the work when the author was not himself a specialist on the subject. To be sure, the secondary authorities used are the best, generally up to date, and representative of the results of recent scholarship, witness the works on American history and the authorities on the history of England for the period. On the other hand the reviewer can not repress a query as to the meaning of occasional efforts at a formidable array of primary source collections whose use is none too evident and which, as in the case of the sources cited for "Le monde vers 1860", cannot apply because only one relates, save incidentally, to the decade before 1870.

University of Pennsylvania. WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

Publicity and Diplomacy, with Special Reference to England and Germany, 1890-1914. By ORON JAMES HALE, Associate Professor of History in the University of Virginia. [The University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1940. Pp. xi, 486. $4.00.)

PROFESSOR Hale has presented a thorough, painstaking, and helpful book. He gives his readers the gist of the research which has been done by others together with the results of his own exploration "on a clinical level", that is, by special reference to England and Germany, "of the triangular relationship between the public, the press, and the influential" (p. viii). His is a study of "the medium in which diplomats and statesmen worked rather than an exposition of the details of their policies" *(ibid.)* and as such is full of the atmosphere which is created by, and in turn increases the enmity of, two virile nations. Professor Hale draws no comparisons with the present-day struggle and points no morals, and perhaps neither can be done; but the reader will find answers with ample illustration to questions such as: Are party politics and domestic policies involved in determining the nature of press propaganda; is secret diplomacy so dangerous to peace, as was thought in 1917-18, when compared with the dangers created by an irresponsible

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press; what is the relation in the press of navalism and economic imperialism?

The term "publicity" is used instead of "public opinion" with the idea that the former connotes activity and represents the press as a dynamic force rather than a passive agency for recording. This approach calls attention at the outset to the nature of the press after 1890 as a big business and a power in itself, and it gives the book its peculiar unity. The chronicle of Anglo-German relationships, usually told as chapter-episodes in diplomacy, becomes here the story of two peoples reacting to the episodes and as peoples building the cumulative opinion which each had of the other. But the press, because it is a power in itself, weaves a pattern into the reacting, thus giving this reaction the character which it wishes public opinion to take on. At times "the influential" themselves drew this pattern for the press. The last chapter of the book is significantly called "July 1914: Mobilizing Opinion", and in it the author writes:

> In the united front presented by the press of the middle-class parties, the writer is unable to see a manifestation of "public opinion" giving impulse and direction to the state's agents or shaping national policies in the great crisis. The parallelism of official policy and publicity appears more as a product of executive action, preparation, and stimulation than the pressure of an overwhelming public opinion driving the government to declare war (p. 450).

Chapters II and III, dealing with the English and German presses, respectively, and foreign affairs, furnish useful and astute summaries of the leading newspapers in both countries, their editorial writers, their party and other affiliations, their reliability, their attitudes toward the imperialism of the period, and show the differences between the press and the conduct of foreign affairs in a parliamentary as compared with a bureaucratic state. In addition to emphasizing the changes toward the end of the century in the press of both countries, the chapters show the two presses as products of two separate cultures. Although the author might well have developed even more this latter aspect of his study, he writes, "The German tradition of vilifying political opponents was carried over into the field of international affairs and caused much trouble and created much bad blood abroad" (p. 45), and he shows how in England personal contacts between editors and the foreign office determined a journal's information and point of view.

The reviewer hesitates to make any adverse criticisms of so careful a work, especially inasmuch as no one has solved the problem of how to study and present public opinion. Yet the method used in this book is still not entirely satisfactory. In giving the skeletal events of diplomacy and publicity it has been necessary to narrate extensively. As a result the whole book takes on a narrative cast, and the statements about motives or explanations, often the most original and certainly the most useful part of the research done by Professor Hale, fail to stand out. For example, the excellent point of England's rationalization of policy (pp. 366-69; also p. 393, n. 50) could have

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been better exploited if differently maneuvered. The author does not lack ample material and insight for further explanation, and no doubt he has puzzled over the problem of presentation even more than has the reviewer. Perhaps it is enough to observe that the more carefully the reader looks, the more he will be rewarded.

Washington, D. C. PAULINE R. ANDERSON.

Church and State in Russia: The Last Years of the Empire, 1900-1917. By JOHN SHELTON CURTISS. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 442. $4.00.)

THERE are few subjects on which more violent disagreements have raged than those concerning the nature of the Russian Orthodox Church and its role in Russian development, and scholars have been slow in general to venture into the maze of assertions and contradictions which constitutes the modern history of the church. Hence Dr. Curtiss's broadly based, painstaking, and impartial study of the church between 1900 and the outbreak of the March Revolution of 1917 is all the more welcome. The fruit of several years' intensive work in this country and in Russia, his book is additional evidence of the high degree of maturity attained by Slavic studies in America.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Orthodox Church under Pobedonostsev was firmly in the grip of a mainly secular bureaucracy, and Dr. Curtiss rightly stresses the small degree of actual influence exercised by the clergy over local or central affairs of the church. He has made a searching analysis of the economic situation of the church, the sources of its income, and its budget. The conflicting tendencies within the church have been presented with much discrimination, especially the rebellious attitude of the seminaries, the estrangement between the priesthood and the ecclesiastical bureaucracy, and the rivalry between the "white" and "black" clergy.

The efforts of the reformers between 1900 and 1916 to secure the convocation of a church congress and the disputes over its future composition have been greatly clarified. The liberal attitude of most of the clerical members of the duma, as well as the close co-operation of reactionary clerics with the notorious Union of the Russian People, has been carefully analyzed. After the subsidence of the revolutionary upsurge of 1904-1906 the government reverted to the old order with, if anything, increased interference in church affairs by irresponsible intriguers. The final chapter relates, in a soberly documented form, the story of Rasputin's pernicious influence over the administration of the church; the helplessness of high-placed clerics and of devout laymen in the face of the scandal was a measure of the condition to which the church had been reduced on the eve of the great crisis of modern Russian history.

In preparing his study Dr. Curtiss has put to good use the unpublished records of the chancery of the synod, the chancery of the over procurator, and other archival resources, and he has drawn important evidence from the

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proceedings of the duma and of its committees. Church newspapers and periodicals have yielded a mine of information.

While the author has deliberately omitted from his study any discussion of the theology and precepts of the Russian Church, he might profitably have included some mention of intellectual currents such as those represented by Soloviev and, later, by Berdiaev. In some degree these and related movements were a reconsideration by a section of the intelligentsia of its traditional hostility towards the church; though less familiar to the non-Russian public than Tolstoi's denunciations of the church, these viewpoints had a considerable influence in that period and might well have found some place in this comprehensive and scholarly study.

Cornell University. PHILIP E. MOSELY.

Le triomphe des bolchéviks et la paix de Brest-Litovsk: Souvenirs, 1917-1918. Par Général NIESSEL, ancien chef de la mission française en Russie. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1940. Pp. x, 381. 40 fr.)

IN 1917 General Niessel was in command of an army corps on the Aisne. He was chosen by the French government to direct the military mission in Russia, whose task it was to help restore the fighting efficacy of the Russian army, disorganized by the results of the March Revolution. Arriving in Russia in the middle of September, he remained in that country until the first days of April, 1918. General Niessel's memoirs deal with his work and impressions during these momentous months, which decided for a long span of time the fate of the empire of the czars.

The volume is well written, in a lucid, somewhat terse style. The really valuable and historically important chapters of the book are those dealing with the agony of the old Russian army during the last months of the Kerenskii regime and its dissolution at the hands of Lenin's government. The author has had ample opportunity to observe at first hand conditions at the front and in the rear of the Russian army. Through his numerous staff he had means of keeping himself well informed of what was going on in the interior of the country as well as among its fighting forces.

A conservative and a staunch Catholic to boot, General Niessel approached the Russian Revolution from the standpoint of military utilitarianism. He considered it his duty to obtain as much military help as possible from an ally vacillating, weary of war, torn asunder by forces set in motion by the fall of the imperial government. He disliked Kerenskii, had no love for the moderate socialists in the soviets, and abhorred Lenin, Trotskii, and their followers. Quite frankly he admits that had he been in Russia at the time of the Kornilov putsch he might have been inclined to "take a more or less active part for Kornilov" (p. 10).

Despite his political and social prejudices, Niessel set himself to cooperate with the Kerenskii government—and later even with that of Lenin—in all matters that he thought might increase Russian military pressure on

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the Central Empires. In the end of February, 1918, he gave definite consent to Trotskii's request for the co-operation of the French military mission in the defense of Russia against the invading Germans and prepared groups of officers and engineers to carry out the destruction of railroads in the path of the German advance.

Niessel is critical of the American military representatives in Russia and accuses them of not pulling their weight in the sphere of action entrusted to them by the Allies (pp. 144, 331).

Some of his observations do not seem to find support in the available documentary evidence, others are obviously the outcome of his insufficient knowledge of Russian political life. Thus Niessel accuses Kerenskii of entering into a compromise with the Bolsheviki, adducing as proof of this that the former had left Russia with the knowledge and connivance of the latter (p. 82). L. B. Kamenev, the well-known "Old Bolshevik", is called a Social Revolutionary of the left (p. 119), and Zinoviev is similarly described (p. 120). The hatred of the Latvians and Estonians for the Baltic barons is referred to as being of World War origin and ascribed to the latter's pro-German activities (p. 152).

On the eve of the Bolshevik coup Niessel, in an official report, advanced the thought that for a successful prosecution of the war on Russia's rapidly decaying front it was necessary to substitute the will of the Allies for that of the Russians. In reading his memoirs one cannot help thinking of the bitter humiliation this proud soldier must suffer in the even more rapid dissolution of the armed resistance of his own beloved land.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. D. Fedotoff White.

Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy. By G. P. Gooch. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1940. Pp. viii, 475. $4.00.)

Nearly twenty years have elapsed since Mr. Gooch published (1923) in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* an article surveying the already bewildering accumulation of documents, memoirs, and biographies concerning the causes and course of the War of 1914-18. Out of that article grew the first edition of this book (1927), which promptly became an indispensable guide to the diplomatic history of the period from 1871 to 1919. Now a fourth edition has appeared, of which about half is new. The index lists the astonishing number of 479 authors and editors, many of them being represented by more than one book or study; yet purely military writings are excluded, and little attention is paid to the economic and social history of the war, which can be studied in the monographs published by the Carnegie Endowment. Generally speaking, Mr. Gooch confines himself to source materials and ignores the enormous controversial literature of the *Kriegsschuldfrage* or the Peace Conference of Paris. Since so much is offered, it is perhaps a little ungenerous to complain of omissions; but a few important

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items seem to have escaped notice. Among documentary collections Savage's *Policy of the United States towards Maritime Commerce in War,* which contains many papers from the files of Robert Lansing not available when the State Department published its documents on the World War, and the four volumes of Russian papers for 1917-19 published by the State Department should certainly be listed. For the Peace Conference Almond and Lutz's documentary study, *The Treaty of Saint-Germain,* "Justus's" *V. Macchi di Cellere all' ambiasciata di Washington,* and Palmer's *Bliss: Peacemaker* also deserve mention, as well as the books by Berger and Allard on the French censorship. The reviewer would like to know what Mr. Gooch thinks about the accusations brought against Serbia, in connection with the murder at Sarajevo, by Adolf Heyrowsky and Henri Pozzi.

Mr. Gooch's method of treatment is first by countries, then by categories of individuals (royal personages, statesmen, soldiers, etc.), and lastly by separate books. This allows the reader to ascertain the substance or the point of view of a particular book, but it is not without disadvantages. Thus the activity of Dr. George D. Herron in 1917-19 is recounted under two different entries. Likewise one finds conflicting statements about Holstein (pp. 48, 61), Erzberger (pp. 31, 66), and Count Czernin (pp. 117, 124), statements reflecting the varying attitudes of different authors without any indication of Mr. Gooch's own opinion as to which version is the more reliable or more probable. He is, of course, entitled to say that his purpose was only to record the opinions of others and to avoid critical analysis; but sometimes this restraint is unfortunate. For example, when speaking of the murder at Sarajevo, he gives the statements of Stanoyevich and Bogichevich, according to which Colonel Dimitriyevich was "the instigator of the Sarajevo plot" (p. 217), but he does not indicate that these versions have been seriously questioned and that Dimitriyevich's exact role still remains obscure. Again, Mr. Gooch quotes (p. 130) the assertion of Baron Musulin, anent the Austrian note to Serbia, that "no demand was incorporated till it was agreed [by the Austrian ministers] that it could and would be accepted"—when all the contemporary documentary evidence proves the contrary.

Two other points may be briefly noted. Mr. Gooch is disposed to defend Colonel House against the strictures of Mr. Ray Stannard Baker and seems unaware that informed American opinion has become decidedly critical of Colonel House, especially of his action at the Peace Conference. If a new edition of the book is called for, Mr. Gooch should endeavor to standardize the transliteration of Slavonic names, for it is disconcerting to have the Russian "v" rendered as "ff", "v", or "w" and to find both "ski" and "sky" used as the last syllable. In Serbian, both "ich" and "itch" are used at the end of names, and in the case of one name, both forms! These various objections are not meant, however, to detract unduly from what remains a remarkable achievement, remarkable for its learning, for the skill with which the essential ideas of hundreds of books are revealed, and for the author's evident

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desire to be fair and reasonable. The most advanced students will profit from it as much as the veriest beginners.

University of Chicago. BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

The Cost of the World War to Germany and to Austria-Hungary. By LEO GREBLER and WILHELM WINKLER. [Economic and Social History of the World War, James T. Shotwell, General Editor, Supplementary Volumes, Sanford Schwarz, Associate Editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History. 1940. Pp. xviii, 192. $2.50.)

SPECULATION as to the direct and indirect costs of the World War has occupied the attention of a generation of economists. The great difficulty of estimating the direct costs and the obvious impossibility of adding up the indirect costs have not prevented attempts to calculate the burden of war on national economies.

Part I of the present study lays emphasis on the real costs of a war-born disruption of production and distribution. In order to do this, Dr. Grebler delineates rapidly but effectively the main features of the German economy before the war (chapter I) and in chapter II describes the effects of war on industry. It is pointed out that in the early phase of the World War business fears more than offset the increase in activity in armament and allied industries (p. 24) and that, "in spite of the stimulation of high prices, patriotic appeal, and measures of organization" (p. 26), industrial production never attained during the war the level of prewar years. Not only this, but because of decreasing efficiency and failure to maintain capital "the mobilization of all available labor resources, which looked so magnificent during the war, was thus the mark of terrific impoverishment" (p. 34).

Dr. Grebler's contribution is perhaps most useful to the American reader in his discussion of the Hindenburg program for speeding up production and the difficulties which assailed it. It is stressed that the point was finally reached where deterioration of labor and machinery, coupled with the transfer of machinery from less to more important industries, caused serious impairment of efficiency in the less essential industries. Though it does not fall within the scope of the present work, a comparison of the way in which the problem of expanding production was met in the World War with the procedure developed under Hitler strikes the reader as useful as a means of gauging progress in this direction. The author's discussion of the "war-companies" (pp. 53 ff.) and their effect on the postwar industrial structure, as well as the relation between the postwar inflation and vertical integration (pp. 67 ff.), ought to be valuable to those who are interested in the tendency toward monopoly. The treatment of the amount of benefit derived by Germany from occupied territories (pp. 74-76) furnishes at least a key to an evaluation of a similar situation today.

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The second part, by Dr. Winkler, presents a more purely factual study of the same problem for Austria-Hungary. This should prove to be a useful source in a relatively little-known subject.

It should be added that in the entire work the reader is left in the dark as to how far war strains can go without sapping the recuperative powers of a nation for an indefinite period. One is confused, for example, by a statement of Dr. Shotwell's in his preface: "These [balance sheets of government finance] alone . . . present so staggering a total as to make it clear to any person in his right mind that henceforth the resort to war by the Great Powers of Europe menaces their very existence" (p. xiii). This statement does not hold in any *clearly definable* way for the conquered, let alone the conquering, nations. Can we hope to convince the aggressors by showing them a balance sheet?

Brown University. KENYON E. POOLE.

The Official Life of Benito Mussolini. By GIORGIO PINI. Translated by LUIGI VILLARI. (London: Hutchinson and Company. 1939. Pp. 270. 8*s.* 6*d.*)

THIS book by a second-rate Italian fascist journalist is at once a signal addition to the hagiographic literature on Mussolini and a travesty on the recent history of Italy. It has no merits whatever, except possibly that of illustrating further how certain fascist writers are adept at traducing the facts, and it has all the defects that we associate with our poorest campaign biographies. Not a single new fact, not a single new viewpoint is set forth.

Were it not for its impressive title, the book would deserve slight attention in this journal. But even the title seems unwarranted and spurious. There is no statement or preface by Mussolini sponsoring or authorizing this book, as there was in Signora Sarfatti's coquettish and irresponsible, albeit clever, "official" life of the duce. Nor does Pini or his translator, a notorious fascist publicist, give any explanation of the title. There is every reason, therefore, to question its validity and to venture the conclusion that it was used in order to confound the English-reading public. Incidentally, there is no evidence in this book that it has ever appeared in Italian.

Too much space would be required for an analysis of Pini's treatment of the period before the advent to power of Mussolini and his fascists in 1922. The reviewer may be pardoned for citing his *Mussolini in the Making* (1938), since that volume deals rather exhaustively with major incidents and aspects of Mussolini's early career, most of which Pini either ignores completely or presents in the warped, tendentious, and factious manner characteristic of virtually all Mussolini's biographers.

The larger part of Pini's book is devoted to the period since the "March on Rome" (pp. 123-259), but as this is an unabashed and, in certain places, fantastic apologia for the domestic and foreign policies of Mussolini and his regime, it is idle to discuss it in detail. Ironically enough, the final chapter,

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on the fascist occupation of Albania in 1939, closes with the following sentence: "Above all it should make for the consolidation of peace in that part of Europe."

Given the indiscriminate manner in which works on Mussolini and fascism are being cited in a multitude of books, ranging from texts to more formal bibliographies, it may be appropriate to express the hope here that if Pini's volume should be cited, it should be done with a critical comment lest scholars and students be deceived by its title. The reviewer, who has had occasion, during the years 1936-38, to evaluate some of the literature relating to Mussolini, has described Mussolini's *Autobiography* as a shameless literary fraud and has shown that the so-called "definitive" edition of Mussolini's writings and speeches is in no sense definitive, for it is marked by extensive omissions and by unconscionable tampering with the texts. And yet the *Autobiography* continues to be cited as a responsible source, and no less a historian than G. P. Gooch, in his brief *Bibliography of European History, 1918-1939* (London, 1940), pronounces the definitive edition "indispensable". Is it possible that the better critical journals are hardly read, even by scholars?

Queens College. GAUDENS MEGARO.

The Economics of Soviet Agriculture. By LEONARD E. HUBBARD. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xii, 315. $3.10.)

MR. Hubbard's latest volume is a worthy companion of his two earlier excellent studies, *Soviet Money and Finance* (1936) and *Soviet Trade and Distribution* (1938). Mr. Hubbard possesses in an unusual degree two gifts rare enough among historians and economists and particularly valuable in a student who ventures into the troubled waters of Soviet economic history: the ability to present clearly within the limited space of a compact volume a complex problem without sacrificing any of the essentials and to maintain throughout the discussion an attitude of poise and objectivity born of complete familiarity with the facts and of an eminently common-sense approach.

It is practically self-evident, even though the rule is only too frequently neglected, that some notion of the historical background is essential in order to see the Soviet experiment in its proper perspective and to arrive at conclusions, however tentative, as to its significance and real meaning. The author therefore uses good judgment in prefacing his examination of Soviet agriculture by several brief chapters which trace the rise and fall of Russian serfdom and present a succinct picture of the position of Russian farming on the eve of the Revolution of 1917. The bulk of the volume deals with the evolution of Soviet agriculture and describes the structure and functioning of the various agencies which, in the realm of Stalin, have replaced private individual farming. The study closes with an appraisal of the effects of collectivization on the farmers and the effects of mechanization on agricultural production, and a comparison of the status of the peasantry under the Soviet regime with what it used to be in the prerevolutionary days.

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While Mr. Hubbard brings to the treatment of every part of his exacting subject the same care, insight, and sound judgment, the results he achieves necessarily depend on the nature of the materials he has to use. The historical part of his volume is on the whole very well done, although in a rapid survey covering several centuries there is always room for legitimate disagreement, especially because certain phases in the history of serfdom are both obscure and controversial. The discussion of the organization and operation of Soviet agricultural agencies—and the author is, of course, primarily concerned with the collective farms which dominate rural Russia today—is well documented, thorough, and vastly illuminating. The analysis of the economic effects of collectivization, especially on the standards of living of the farmers and the yield of crops, is somewhat less satisfactory for a reason which Mr. Hubbard is the first to deplore and which he properly emphasizes in his book, namely, the regrettable incompleteness of Soviet statistics. The author's tentative conclusions, fully supported by available evidence, are eminently sound, and their significance is enhanced by the scholarly caution with which they are presented.

"It is questionable whether the kolkhozniki [collective farmers] in mass are better off or enjoy a higher standard of living than they would have done had they remained small peasant farmers", writes Mr. Hubbard; "and the use of machinery and the employment of scientific methods of farming have not yet had a striking effect on the yield of land, though it has resulted in a large expansion of the area under cultivation."

Mr. Hubbard's volume is undoubtedly the best and the most up-to-date study of Soviet agriculture available in the English language. It should be consulted by everyone who wishes to comprehend one of the most important aspects of the Soviet experiment.

Columbia University. MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY.

The Saar Plebiscite, with a Collection of Official Documents. By SARAH WAMBAUGH, Technical Adviser and Deputy Member of the Saar Plebiscite Commission. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. xv, 489. $5.00.)

THIS volume is an instructive and authoritative account of the Saar plebiscite, which, in the author's opinion, "marks the highest point yet attained by the technique of international plebiscite" (p. vi). The first part supplies the background, with a rapid survey of the history of the territory and its inhabitants from early Roman times to the establishment of the League of Nations regime pursuant to the Treaty of Versailles. The second part gives an account of the League's stewardship in administering the Saar. The next part describes the preparation of the plebiscite and the respective functions in that preparation of the Governing Commission of the Saar Territory, the League of Nations Council, and the Plebiscite Commission. The last part is devoted to the vote by which Germany regained the Saar. The

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narrative is thoroughly documented by footnotes, statistics, and maps, and the thirty-four documents which occupy 150 pages in the appendix are offered as representing a complete collection of official data relating to the plebiscite.

Miss Wambaugh was of course in a unique position to make so useful a contribution to scholarship. She combines theoretical knowledge resulting from years of intensive study with practical experience both in the Tacna-Arica controversy and in the Saar plebiscite, where she was an active participant as technical adviser to, and deputy member of, the Plebiscite Commission. It is not surprising, therefore, that this book does more than live up to the reputation which she established for herself with previously published studies on the subject of plebiscites. In telling the story, in marshaling facts and painting the immediate background in which these events took place, Miss Wambaugh's treatment could hardly be surpassed. Particularly impressive is her mastery of technical details. If ever the fate of territory is again decided by the vote of its inhabitants, this book may well serve as the pattern by which the technique of future plebiscites will be fashioned.

It is from the perspective of the historian that the author seems to have fallen somewhat short of the goal of consummate scholarship. Very properly and fortunately, she realized that the subject of her book deals not with some hundreds of square miles of land *in vacuo* but with the welfare, happiness, and sentiments of men, women, and children inhabiting that land. Her approach was, therefore, "functional"—*i.e.*, she tried to put the technique of the plebiscite in the setting of everyday life of the people whose future was to be determined by the vote. But, it seems, she has not gone far enough in this direction. While her appraisal of the crosscurrents in the period immediately preceding the plebiscite is both objective and ample, she failed to subject to the same thorough inquiry the original setup, which generated, through years, a reservoir of irritants to be exploited fully by the National Socialist government in Germany when the Plebiscite Commission took up its task. It may be questioned whether the temporary separation of the Saar from Germany was a sensible measure. There being little doubt as to the feeling of the population, the necessity of a plebiscite may also be doubted. But apart from an inquiry into these fundamental premises, there were other problems which did not receive sufficient and wholly impartial consideration. Miss Wambaugh admits, somewhat reluctantly, certain initial mistakes (pp. 78-80); but she does not show how these supplied, in part at least, the leverage used so effectively by Herr Hitler. While many students of the Saar regime are critical of various phases and aspects of the League government, Miss Wambaugh's occasional criticism is halting and barely perceptible; in her opinion, that administration was "honest and skillful" (p. 110). Honest it doubtless was—but whether it was skillful remains an open question. It is true, as Miss Wambaugh points out, that Germany did not once raise her voice against the administration of the Saar during the period of her active

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membership in the League (pp. 100, 165). But the whys and wherefores of this startling fact, which would support the claim of "skillfulness" of the League government, are nowhere explained.

The Saar plebiscite seems very distant from the world in which we live today and which we shall have to face tomorrow. Perhaps, many years hence, another generation will be able to create from the shambles into which we are battering our civilization a world in which the orderly processes of law will once more take precedence over brute force and unprovoked aggression. For that other world Miss Wambaugh's book is well worth preserving, both as a record of history and as a guide to technique in international government. For ourselves the outstanding lesson is the hardly escapable conclusion that in the years between the end of the first and the beginning of the second World Wars—in those years which future historians will perhaps call the Era of Missed Opportunities—we expended a great deal of energy, time, money, effort, and good will in solving in an unnecessarily complicated manner problems of comparatively slight importance, while at the same time we were unwilling to tackle the fundamental issues upon which the balance between peace and war depended.

Columbia University School of Law. FRANCIS DEÁK.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

The Indian Press: A History of the Growth of Public Opinion in India. By MARGARITA BARNS. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xv, 491. $6.00.)

IN this volume the author, a seasoned journalist and research worker, has given us a well-documented and reliable study of the development of public opinion in India and its expression in the press. In fact it is a study of the spirit of the British rule from the days when the East India Company acquired political power to the present day and of the attitude of Indian nationalism, which has been fostered by the Indian press. This study has been carried on in India as well as in England. It is based on early newspaper accounts, government reports, debates in the legislative assembly, and other original sources and trustworthy works of importance. It is a valuable addition to the growing literature on modern India.

With the growth of Indian unrest and agitation for a greater share in the government, the government of India in 1870 enacted a law to the following effect:

> Whoever by words, either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs, or by visible representation or otherwise, excites or attempts to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished by transportation for life or any term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment for a term which may be extended to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.

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This law has been incorporated in the Indian Penal Code as Section 124 A and is a factor in limiting freedom of the press in India. During the administration of Lord Lytton a Vernacular Press Act was passed in 1878, according to which "the printer and publisher of *any paper in an Indian language* could be called upon to enter into bond not to publish anything likely to excite feelings of disaffection against the government or antipathy between persons of different races, castes and religions among His Majesty's subjects". After much agitation during the governor-generalship of Lord Ripon, this law was repealed in 1881. In 1885 the Indian National Congress was organized to promote the national aspirations of the Indian people. It is needless to add that the Indian press has been the strongest supporter of this cause. The growth of the Indian national movement and the agitation for self-government carried on by the Indian press led to the passage of a new law in 1897, which is referred to as Section 153 A of the Indian Penal Code. This manifests somewhat mildly the spirit of Section 124 A quoted above.

In the form of several appendixes the author gives the full texts of the Newspapers Act of 1908, the Indian Press Act of 1910, the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931, the Foreign Relations Act of 1932, and the Indian States Protection Act of 1934. These laws throw considerable light on the spirit of regulation of the press in India and prove that "an entirely free press is inconsistent with a despotic form of government, even if it be a paternal despotism". Furthermore, the operation of Defense Regulation 39 B, which lays down that no person shall "endeavor, whether orally or otherwise, to influence public opinion in a manner likely to be prejudicial to the defense of the realm or the efficient prosecution of the war", is being used to stifle almost any criticism of any governmental action in wartime or even the discussion of war aims. Today a very large number of Indian leaders are in prison as a result of the application of this law.

In the process of evolution of a democratic way of life and government the free press plays an important part. This is true in India, where the press today possesses *in practice* a certain amount of liberty, although, as indicated above, the government exercises very wide restrictive powers through various laws. It must be noted, however, that the Indian press as a whole is opposed to a totalitarian form of government and is acting as a champion of justice, liberty, and democracy.

City College, New York. TARAKNATH DAS.

The Essentials of Japanese Constitutional Law. By SHINICHI FUJII, Professor of Waseda and Nippon University. (Tokyo: Yuhikaku. 1940. Pp. ii, xi, 463. $5.00.)

WHEN an author accepts as historical fact the myth that the Japanese state was founded in 660 B.C. by a grandson of the Sun Goddess, who had descended from heaven approximately a million years earlier (p. 394), he must

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expect that a skeptical reviewer will hesitate to give his work serious consideration. But it may be said that this treatise, though too conservative for the present reviewer's taste, is a valuable exegesis of the Japanese constitution, especially creditable because of the author's success in overcoming the difficulties of the English language. It is highly conventional in organization, proceeding by analysis of the articles of the constitution. Of doubtful value to Occidental readers are the rather extensive comparisons with the constitutions and institutions of the United States, Great Britain, and other states. These tend to suggest resemblances rather than the contrasts which actually exist.

Professor Fujii begins with introductory sections on the general theory of the state and the nature of constitutions. Taking up the theme of Japanese law, he devotes a considerable section to the *Tenno* (emperor), another to the rights of subjects, others to the *Gikai* (parliament), the ministers, the privy council, and the courts. A section on the various categories of laws—including statutes, ordinances, treaties, and the budget—a brief glance at "Territory", and final chapters of "Reflections" by way of summary complete the treatise. The constitution and five other fundamental instruments are reprinted as appendixes. There is a short bibliography, which omits the works of the great liberal scholar Minobe, and a rather unsatisfactory index. The type used is comfortably large, and the paper and binding are exceptionally good.

The value of the work lies in its explanations of those features of the Japanese system that may be approached without fear of arousing the suspicions of "patriots", also in the clear statement of the content and meaning of the articles of the constitution and significant provisions of other laws. Controversial points are discussed briefly, and the author's own view is stated. Especially comprehensive and fresh are the chapters on the *Gikai,* the difficult subject of ministerial responsibility, and the nature of elections. The judicial system is described accurately, and the knotty problem of the respective spheres of statutes and ordinances is clarifyingly handled.

It is in his treatment of the position of the *Tenno*—a term which the author uses consistently—that one finds difficulty in accepting the book as other than a somewhat overanxious restatement of traditions which the oligarchs of the so-called constitutional period have sought to instill in the minds of the people. Professor Fujii places us in his debt for a thorough analysis of the imperial house law. But the position and powers of the emperor are not realistically explained. The *Tenno* is not, as Fujii repeatedly asserts that he is, a ruling sovereign. Nowhere does the distinction between the *law* of the constitution—well termed "imperial centralism"—and the *fact* of government by an oligarchy receive consideration. Nowhere do we find recognition of the extraordinary influence of the supreme command in the nonmilitary sphere. The reviewer would be more modest in challenging a

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Japanese authority's propagandistic and repetitious insistence upon Japan's "grand way of the gods" were he less certain that this doctrine is rejected by Japan's liberal constitutionalists and that in practice it has no application.

University of Minnesota. HAROLD S. QUIGLEY.

Statesman, Patriot, and General in Ancient China: Three "Shih chi" Biographies of the Ch'in Dynasty (255-206 B. C.). Translated and discussed by DERK BODDE, University of Pennsylvania. [American Oriental Series.] (New Haven: American Oriental Society. 1940. Pp. xi, 75. $1.50.)

THIS book supplements Dr. Bodde's earlier *China's First Unifier* (Leiden, 1938), in which he told the story of Li Ssŭ's part in the unification of China under the Ch'in empire in the third century B.C., with biographies of Lü Pu-wei, one of Ch'in's great ministers and sponsor of Li Ssŭ's official career, of Ching K'o, an adventurer sent by the state of Yen to attempt the assassination of the Ch'in monarch who was to become first emperor of a united China, and of Meng T'ien, most famous of the first emperor's generals. The biographies are translated from the *Shih-chi* of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien (145-*ca.* 86 B.C.), the principal source for the period. The author has added to each biography notes on certain of the pertinent textual and historical questions involved, of which the following might be cited as important: the author shows that the text of Lü Pu-wei's biography, as it exists today, is certainly a revision by later Confucian scholars who would discredit the first emperor; he convincingly demonstrates that the authorship of Ching K'o's biography is to be attributed to Ssŭ-ma Tan (*ca.* 180-110 B.C.), father of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien; and he gives an excellent account of the methods by which Ssŭ-ma Tan and his son wove their source materials into the body of their work.

Readers will find here excellent examples of typical Chinese biographical writing. Specialists in the Chinese field will value the biographies for the light that they throw on the involved politics of the Ch'in court, especially the demonstration that Lü Pu-wei, through his sponsorship of the *Lü-shih Ch'ün-ch'iu,* attempted to promote an eclectic political philosophy in a state hitherto dominated by the legalist school. We may, perhaps, see in his downfall a conflict between two rival political ideologies.

The translations are, on the whole, satisfactory, though the reviewer would disagree with some of the renderings. There are occasional slips, such as where the author asserts that the queen dowager "had originally been Lü Pu-wei's concubine" (p. 5, n. 19). This was true of neither of the queen dowagers referred to in the note. The author's comment (p. 41) that the authenticity of the main facts of the biography of Ching K'o is vouched for in part by the agreement between the *Chan-kuo Ts'ê* and the *Shih-chi* is meaningless when he shows (pp. 39-41) that the *Shih-chi* account is almost entirely a paraphrase of the former work.

University of Washington. F. D. SCHULTHEIS.

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United States Policy toward China: Diplomatic and Public Documents, 1839-1939. Selected and arranged by PAUL HIBBERT CLYDE, Department of History, Duke University. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. xv, 321. $3.50.)

PROFESSOR Clyde's book answers a specific need in the field of American relations with China during the last hundred years. Documents and papers illustrative of the principal issues, normally buried in various government publications or in the archives of the State Department, are here assembled for convenient use. As source readings for classes in American diplomatic history and contemporary history of the Far East, these should be very useful to the increasing number of workers in this field.

The undoubted value of the collection as source material is marred by two shortcomings, one having to do with the editing of the texts and the other with the selection of the documents. The first is confined mainly to the first half of the volume and arises largely from failure to identify the romanized forms of Chinese proper names with the original sounds or with their representation in a standard system of transcription. The failure to do this often misleads the reader. For instance, on page 27, the imperial commissioner is referred to as Sen, which is a misreading for Seu in the original and should be identified as Hsü Kuang-chin in the standard Wade system. The governor of Kiang Su (*i.e.,* Kiangsu) is referred to on page 43 as Keihonga and on page 44 as Keihunga, both misreadings for Kirhanga in the original document, and should be identified as Chi-erh-hang-a in the Wade system. Also, on the same page, the Chinese transcription of the "English chief", Horatio Nelson Lay, was Li Tai Kwoh in the original, not Si Tai Kwoh as given, and should be Li T'ai-kuo in the Wade system; on the following page, Tsunghun was originally Tsunglun and would be Ch'ung-lun in Wade. Such errors become more confusing when the Chinese minister, Wen-hsiang, is referred to as Weusiang on page 71, Wansiang on page 73, Weu-ta-jen on page 96, Wen-Hsiang on page 99, and Wen Hsi-ang on page 114, without any editorial indication that they are the same person. Such examples could be multiplied several times in the first 139 pages. Aside from these textual defects, the documents would be considerably illuminated by brief biographical footnotes, the material for which is readily accessible in a score (thirty-three to be exact) of standard Chinese biographical collections.

The matter of selection of documents is always both delicate and revealing. The die-hard views of J. Ross Browne are, as they deserve to be, given a full hearing, while the optimistic, even if misguided, position of Anson Burlingame is referred to only indirectly through the statements of Sir Robert Hart. Sometimes the brief introductory statements are more misleading than helpful. For instance, the statement is made, page 30, that Robert M. McLane "was responsible for" the setting up of the foreign inspectorate of Chinese maritime customs, which follows Dennett but ignores

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the more recent and much more exhaustive monographic studies of John King Fairbank.

On the whole, the second half of the volume is much better than the first, and, notwithstanding the defects cited, this is a welcome and useful book.

University of Colorado. EARL SWISHER.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Dictionary of American History. JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, Editor in Chief. R. V. COLEMAN, Managing Editor. In six volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1940. Pp. xi, 444; 430; 432; 512; 515; viii, 258. $60.00.)

WITHIN the last fifteen years three monumental enterprises in the field of collaborative scholarship have appeared in the United States: the *Dictionary of American Biography,* the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* and the *Dictionary of American History.* Only those who have labored long in the vineyard of the social sciences can really appreciate the value and significance of these indispensable publications.

Last to appear, the *Dictionary of American History* was launched in 1936 under the auspices of the publishing house of Charles Scribner's Sons. The selection of Dr. James Truslow Adams for the chief editorial post was a happy one. Widely versed in the history of his country, author of many articles and volumes dealing with various aspects of American development, Pulitzer Prize winner, and well-known literary craftsman, he was especially well fitted to plan and supervise this broadly conceived undertaking. From the outset Dr. Adams and his associates operated on the principle that history is more than a record of military and political events, that during the last half century the field of history and historical writing has broadened, and that every phase of culture comes within the historian's province. They were aware, too, of the fact that with the widening of the historian's vision public interest in history has widened and that today history is no longer the concern of the few but of the many. They realized also that with the enormous amount of spadework done in recent years in nonpolitical history, many facts have been unearthed that were not hitherto readily available. The major task in preparing the *Dictionary,* as they conceived it, therefore, was to bring together in one source the essential historical items scattered through thousands of general histories or special studies. Once accomplished, a work of this character, they believed, would save countless hours of searching through stacks of books for some specific fact, event, or policy concerning the American past.

From the beginning the editors faced many problems: a vast index of proposed subjects had to be prepared and sifted, the number of words for each article had to be determined, larger topics had to be broken down into their component parts, subjects had to be assigned to authors, a meticulous

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scheme of cross-referencing had to be devised, and constantly there had to be kept in mind that this work was to be a dictionary and not a collection of essays or an encyclopedia. As a first step, an advisory committee consisting of almost twoscore well-known personages—all men—interested in history and in the type of project contemplated was chosen. More than a thousand historians, representing a cross section of American historical scholarship, were invited to participate; together they contributed the almost 6,500 articles which fill the first five volumes. A sixth volume, containing the index, completes the set.

The format of the work is substantial and attractive. The text is set in double column, in clear, readable-sized type. The subjects are arranged alphabetically, and the captions used are those the reader would most naturally look for.

What of the content? In general, the articles are brief, each dealing with a separate and definite subject or aspect of our history. In this connection it is interesting to compare this dictionary with earlier publications of a similar character. In these one searches in vain for such items as adult education, "Andy Gump", bathtubs, best sellers, bloomer dress, the canning industry, dime novels, five-and-ten-cent stores, basketball, labor legislation, mustangs, news reporting, oil industry, jitney, poker, paving, Rotary Clubs, silhouettes, subways, yellow journalism. Indeed the work under review is evidence of the extent to which our conception of history has broadened. The articles vary in length from one hundred to five thousand words. The longer or "covering articles" deal with subjects which do not lend themselves to brief treatment as, for example, American architecture, Anglo-American relations, climate, local government, the judiciary, labor unions, international law, manufacturing, neutrality, newspapers, slavery, taxation, transportation and travel, and the like. Cross references guide the reader to various supporting or related articles in which special phases of the subject are treated in more detail. The intent to have each article written by the person most familiar with the subject has, on the whole, been carried out successfully. Thus, for example, Carl Becker writes on the Declaration of Independence, Clark Wissler on North American archaeology, Fred A. Shannon on the Union army, Edward Everett Dale on the cattle industry, J. G. Randall on the Civil War, Dexter Perkins on the Monroe Doctrine, Douglas C. McMurtrie on printing, Wayne E. Stevens on the fur trade, Carl B. Swisher on the judiciary, John A. Krout on the temperance movement. Each article is signed with the author's full name, thus sparing the reader from the time-consuming arrangement of initials employed in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Each article, except where bibliography is unavailable, is equipped with from one to several references to which the reader may turn for further information. The quality of these references, however, is lacking in uniformity. On the Norris Dam, for example, an annual report of the Tennessee Valley Authority is

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cited, while in the very next article—Norris Farm Export Act—the reference is to a textbook. This feature of the *Dictionary* leaves much to be desired.

With some exceptions the articles are clearly and concisely written and are for the most part interesting. Some, however, are not very critical or interpretative; perhaps it was not the intention of the editors that they should be so. Others are wanting in what to the reviewer seems essential fact. To be specific by way of illustration, the article on the Southern Railway makes no mention of the fact that its main line extends through the industrially important Piedmont Region. The destinies of the Knights of Labor were for many years shaped by Terence V. Powderly, yet the article on the Knights makes no mention of him. In the article on mining towns, Virginia City finds no place, and yet, in some respects, it was the most outstanding of all the mining towns. True, this particular town is mentioned in the article on the Comstock Lode. In view of the existence of the *Dictionary of American Biography* the editors deliberately and wisely, it would seem, omitted names of historical characters. To have included them would have added to the size and cost of the undertaking and would have been largely unnecessary duplication. Dr. Adams warns us in his foreword that not every historical item could be included. But one wonders why the Crédit Mobilier is included and not the Contract and Finance Company or the Pacific Improvement Company. The important Hatch Act of 1887 is tucked away in the article on agricultural experiment stations and in the general article on the Department of Agriculture. Fortunately, the general index is more than an article index, and in it one may find reference to important items for which there are no separate articles. At least a dozen or more items might be mentioned which, in the opinion of the reviewer, should have been included.

We must remember, however, that an enterprise of this character, no matter how well planned and executed, cannot be expected to be perfect. It is by far the best work of its kind that has been published in this country and undoubtedly will prove to be a very useful reference not only to teachers and students of American history but also to laymen who may have occasion to refer to the American past.

Columbia University. HARRY J. CARMAN.

Inventories of County Records, Federal Archives in the States, and Miscellaneous State and Local Archives. Compiled by the Historical Records Survey. (Washington. 1939-40.)

SINCE the publication by the Historical Records Survey of the inventories (approximately 150) reviewed in the October, 1939, issue of the *American Historical Review* (pp. 159-62), several hundred more publications have been issued. As of August 1, 1940, inventories for some 300 counties had appeared, and about 100 more were listed as having been approved for publication. The first drafts of a good many more are on file in local offices. Some forty

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volumes of town and municipal inventories have also been published together with numerous miscellaneous items. All told, the *Check List of Historical Records Survey Publications,* issued as of July 15, 1940, excluding the Survey of Federal Archives and the Inventory of American Imprints (which last series is reviewed separately in this journal), lists 500 items. But actually not more than 10 per cent of the inventories of American counties are now available in published form. Although there has been a marked stepping up of the rate of production (100 county inventories have been published during the last year as against 200 in the first three years), such acceleration is to be expected. Field work in the counties should long since have been completed if local staffs were reasonably diligent, and the inventories should be passing rapidly from the work-sheet stage to the finished product.

In line with recommendations embodied in the first review, the present national director, Mr. Sargent B. Child, has inaugurated a number of key volumes which are to treat town government in each state. At present volumes are available for Maine and New Hampshire. These compact studies are meant to supplant the needlessly prolix historical and descriptive matter contained in the county and town inventories as originally issued. Under the initial plan it was not unusual to find independent historical studies carried on in each county, unnecessarily duplicating studies of governmental offices and records for the entire state.

Other criticisms previously advanced against the H.R.S. have not been met. As national defense or other Federal budgetary requirements might at any time jeopardize the continued allotment of funds for this important inventory program, H.R.S. owes it to the historical profession as well as the general public to consider either of two realistic alternatives: (1) the completion of the central core of the program, the county inventories, at the sacrifice of other, less unified, objectives; (2) in the event that even this limited objective is unattainable as a result of curtailment of funds, the inventorying of the older counties whose archives are likely to prove more fruitful for historical research and by and large to have suffered far more from neglect and destruction than active records in busy offices.

As regards the first alternative, the results of the Survey of Federal Archives should provide an object lesson to those responsible for advising H.R.S. Owing to the singleness of purpose of the Federal survey, the actual field work was virtually completed after a year and a half of activity. Three hundred and three inventories have been published to date under the auspices of H.R.S., which has assumed technical direction of this project. The whole program should be completed this coming June. Only recently this inventory program has been supplemented by the publication of a useful and compact *Guide to the Material in the National Archives.*

As regards the second alternative, H.R.S. to date has given no indication that historical considerations have governed the choice of inventories to be

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published. Of the seven county inventories issued for New York State, only two, Ulster and Richmond, deal with colonial sources. For Pennsylvania the archives of no county established prior to the Revolution have been made available to date, although the Lancaster inventory has been approved. In Maryland the western counties have been given precedence over the tidewater, for which not a single inventory has appeared. Not one of the eight original Virginia shires is available, although useful inventories for such venerable counties as Isle of Wight, Middlesex, and Dinwiddie have appeared. The earlier counties of South Carolina seem to have been passed over in favor of the newer. For a state as huge as Texas the publication of inventories of thirteen counties scarcely scratches the surface. It would seem expedient to concentrate on the immediate issuance of guides to the archives of the twenty-five original counties erected by the Republic of Texas. Thus, the Sabine County inventory would seem a far better foundation tool for students than some of the others which have appeared for that state.

The same criticism applies to the town and city archives series, where towns of more recent origin have been favored over older ones and villages and towns with populations under 2,500 favored over important urban areas. As H.R.S. can never hope to inventory more than a very small percentage of American town and municipal archives, it would seem prudent to concentrate on locations possessing more venerable collections of source materials than those selected for publication to date. Worthy of emulation by other states is the publication of the calendar of the archives of the municipality of Brazoria, in Texas, for there the county was the direct successor of the Mexican unit of local government, the municipality. A calendar of unpublished New York City common council papers would command enthusiastic support from students of municipal history. In this series the San Francisco city and county inventory is one of the most valuable items.

Since it appears that diversification is today a settled policy of H.R.S., it would at least seem the better part of prudence to concentrate on such projects, in addition to the county inventories, as are not only furthest advanced but are likely to provide the most important research tools. Of these the most fruitful has been the inventory of church archives, in which H.R.S. is carrying forward the pioneer work of William Henry Allison. For New York City alone there are now available inventories of Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Reformed (going back at least to 1639), and Quaker (at least to the first yearly meeting in 1696) churches. Sources, hitherto discrete, scattered throughout a great many church depositories in this country, are at last being systematically organized. Among the most notable of the inventories of this series is that of the church archives of Utah, for which a short history and bibliography have already been published. The inventories of the Mormon archives should prove of great utility.

The compact state-by-state guides to manuscript collections (Florida,

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Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, and Pennsylvania are now available) will prove very suggestive to the research worker. If necessary in order to carry through to completion the remaining forty-three state manuscript guides, it is suggested that further calendaring or detailed inventorying of collections of private historical societies be discontinued. The choice of collection has in large measure been dictated by local sponsors, who, in numerous cases, have adequate funds of their own for such work. Certainly it is doubtful whether, in view of present difficulties of publication, H.R.S. should embark on such tasks as the calendar of Yucatecan letters in the collection of the Middle American Research Institute at Tulane. There is no justification at this late date for surveying materials dealing with areas outside the present territorial limits of the United States.

A number of calendar and transcript projects are likely to prove of considerable importance to legal historians. Among these should be mentioned the abstract and index of the records of the inferior court of pleas of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1680-98, the forthcoming edition of the proceedings of the court of constables and overseers of Newtown, New York, 1656-90, the extensive transcriptions of the police jury minutes of Jefferson Parish, Louisiana, beginning in 1834, and the edition of Sargent's Code, a collection of the original laws of the Mississippi Territory enacted in 1799-1800.

H.R.S. cannot be judged by quantitive standards alone. It has continued its useful function of making communities and responsible officials increasingly conscious of archival obligations. H.R.S. workers found San Francisco records in basements, attics, garages, and sheds, unprotected against dirt, insects, and rodents. These they cleaned, assorted, and rearranged, and the project is now able to report that the city and county archives are in satisfactory condition. Important early colonial records, covered with cement and abandoned in a basement room at Cambridge, a county seat on Maryland's Eastern Shore, were discovered. They have now been placed in good order. Others have been removed from Prince George's County to Annapolis's model Hall of Records. When a historian called the attention of H.R.S. to the imminent danger that the bulk of the New York City mayors' correspondence, running from the days of Tweed to Walker, would be destroyed, workers diligently set to work to salvage and arrange this material, piled high in the City Hall basement, and then supervised its transfer to the temporary custody of the New York Public Library. Whether or not the major inventory series is ever completed before the final curtain is rung down on H.R.S.—and the chance now seems slim, indeed—our counties and towns will have been the richer for its efforts. Historical scholarship of the next generation will be the affluent beneficiary of this heroic enterprise.

City College, New York. RICHARD B. MORRIS.

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American Imprints Inventory. DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE, National Editor. Check Lists: No. 2, *Minnesota, 1849-1865* (pp. ix, 219); No. 3, *Arizona, 1860-1890* (v, 81); No. 4, *Chicago Ante-Fire Imprints, 1851-1871* (xvii, 727); No. 5, *Kentucky, 1787-1810* (xxvii, 205); No. 6, *Kentucky, 1811-1820* (xiii, 235); No. 7, *Nevada, 1859-1890* (xv, 127); No. 8, *Alabama, 1807-1840* (xv, 159); No. 9, *New Jersey, 1784-1800* (xviii, 189); No. 10, *Kansas, 1854-1876* (xxxvii, 773); No. 11, *Kellogg Collection of "Patent Inside" Newspapers of 1876* (ix, 99); No. 12, *Sag Harbor, L. I., 1791-1820* (xxi, 23-61); extra unnumbered *Location Symbols for Libraries in the United States* (v, 258). (Historical Records Survey, W.P.A. 1938-39.)

THESE volumes were prepared as a project of the Historical Records Survey, W.P.A., in mimeographed form. They are not for sale but are available on application to the national editor, 950 Michigan Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. No. 1, on *Missouri Imprints, 1808-1850,* issued in 1937, was noticed in this *Review* (XLIV, 455).

It should be noted that the prefaces or compilers' introductory essays to the individual volumes are worthy of consideration. They reveal just how a volume was done and whether it is considered as a "preliminary" study or is recommended as a more advanced job. Knowledge of such declared facts will temper criticism. One may also read these preliminary pages for the information they give on the history of printing in the region considered. For example, No. 12, on Sag Harbor, is in this respect outstanding. Here Mr. McMurtrie had fine co-operation from the depositories where most of the extant Sag Harbor imprints survive, and many of these imprints are exceedingly rare.

It was shown that No. 1 (*Missouri*) was virtually Mr. McMurtrie's product. So now we see his competent hand at work in other issues. He tells where the responsibility lies and invites information about things left out or of errors that may be detected. This is a fact that should be reasonably considered.

In this brief notice no particular analysis can be attempted. The volume on Minnesota is by a librarian, Miss Mamie R. Martin, and was originally prepared as a master's thesis at Columbia University; so also the volume on New Jersey by Miss Lucile M. Morsch, a librarian, was similarly prepared at Columbia in 1930. Nevada is a virgin product, since no attempt has been made before to compile a list of imprints of that state.

The largest volume of the series is Kansas, though it embraces only twenty-three years. As no complete file is known of the Kansas legislative bills, a full listing is given of those in the Kansas Historical Society for 1858 to 1875 (pp. 615-99). Number 11 inventories the Kellogg syndicated newspaper service collection in the Chicago Historical Society; and the large extra volume taken in by the Survey, although a product of the Hill Memorial Library of Louisiana State University, is a dictionary of location symbols arranged alphabetically by states, designed to show by fixed symbols the

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identification of libraries in the United States and a few in Canada, which bibliographers may use in citing located copies.

New York Public Library. VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class. By LOUIS B. WRIGHT. [Huntington Library Publication.] (San Marino: Huntington Library. 1940. Pp. xi, 373. $3.75.)

FOR well over a thousand years the word "gentleman" has been a fighting word. For most of this era the fighting has been defensive. If A charged that B was not a gentleman, B straightway struck him or at least offered formal battle. Ambitious men whose hereditary status did not warrant the word strove for it, hoping that their effort would at least make it more nearly attainable for their descendants. In a general way it has been associated with the accumulation and retention of property. In historical perspective it appears as an incentive to achievement. The late eighteenth century political revolutions temporarily damaged it, but it made a fair recovery. Then, within our own time, it has suffered so sudden and ruinous a loss of prestige that to allege that a man is trying to be a gentleman is almost an offense. In many circles one would be expected to fight off the accusation. A reviewer, with but a few paragraphs at his disposal, need not give the reasons. Some say the word and the idea are gone forever. But "forever" is a word that historians regard with suspicion.

"The very basis of a gentleman's status", says Dr. Wright, "was the recognition of an inherent inequality in mankind." This idea, like many other ideas, was brought to the early American settlements, but since it was associated with organized large-scale agriculture it seemed easier to apply it in areas like Virginia than in those of port towns and surrounding small farms. How the larger proprietors formed themselves into a class in that province; how they developed fortitude, temperance, prudence, and justice (that Aristotle recommended for the gentleman), liberality and courtesy (prescribed in the Renaissance), with the added virtues of fidelity, loyalty, and piety; and how they furnished themselves with learning—this is the theme of Dr. Wright's admirably studied and admirably written book.

If the majority of Virginian colonists were simple, hard-working folk of no ancestral pretensions and little wealth, the families who controlled them and their destinies soon became both wealthy and proud. It is not necessary to assume, however, that even these members of the ruling class were aristocratic in their origins. A few were, but most were not. But, having reached Virginia and become possessed of great tracts of land which assured them wealth, power, and social recognition, they quickly assumed all the prerogatives of the aristocratic order they had known in England.

The cards were stacked in favor of those who brought capital; "the political and social importance of ambitious indentured servants has been exaggerated

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by historians who have reacted—sometimes a little too violently—against the follies of overzealous ancestor worshippers".

Leisure was employed primarily in the management of public affairs in state and church. Lees, Corbins, Fitzhughs, Carters, Ludwells, Burwells, and the like absorbed the public offices and military responsibilities. What leisure was left was given to field sports, horse racing, gambling, the decorous social arts, and reading. The scattered nature of the plantations—and resulting self-dependence—"rather than conscious plan or Machiavellian design, gave the families of wealth a monopoly, to all practical intents, of educational opportunity"; plans for institutions usually met with disappointment. The decent competence of the amateur was sought in learning, as in all other avocations. "As in the Elizabethan period, that type of learning which would make a well-rounded man rather than a specialist was the ideal of a gentleman's education."

Because a man possessed books it is not a certain evidence that he read them, yet it may be supposed that planters did not collect books for show, and we may assume from the lists of private libraries that a number of them acquired no small degree of classical, historical, and philosophical learning, with a fainter interest in belles-lettres. The scope of Dr. Wright's study does not extend beyond the middle of the eighteenth century, but already there were numerous private libraries of a hundred volumes up to three or four thousand, which the author meticulously describes. The taste they represented was of extreme conservatism.

Six long chapters are devoted to the interests, largely the literate interests, of William Fitzhugh, Ralph Wormeley II, Richard Lee II, the Carters, Robert Beverly II, and the Byrds—altogether a monumental effort in the biographical analysis of a culture. The eighteenth century Virginia gentlemen formed the most public-spirited aristocracy this country has known, an aristocracy valuing hard work and intellectual attainment. These and men like them designed the Constitution of the United States. We are grateful for having them in our tradition, and we are grateful that they have been pictured to us with such scholarly thoroughness, insight, and persuasive art. This is not just another monograph; it is a first-class book on a great subject.

Union College. DIXON RYAN FOX.

Founding of the American Public School System: A History of Education in the United States from the Early Settlements to the Close of the Civil War Period. Volume I. By PAUL MONROE, Emeritus Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xiv, 520. $3.00.)

PROFESSOR Monroe limits his account to an explanation of "the more commonplace idea of education as a school process" (p. vii) rather than making it a comprehensive portrayal of both institutionalized and informal educa-

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tion. Since the complexity of broadly conceived educational history impedes him (p. vii), he simply recounts the development of the American public school system from early colonial times to about 1860. Although this is his purpose, it is disappointing to those who would prefer a much closer integration of American educational history with the social, cultural, and intellectual history of which it forms a part. Professor Monroe, however, relates his story to dominant political and economic forces even though he neglects to demonstrate the impact of such social and intellectual currents as humanitarianism and transcendentalism. Since "No attempt is made to go into detail", significant trends and developments stand out in clearer focus, but as a result some of the individual descriptions are marred. For instance, the story of the rise of state supported normal schools seems incomplete without mention of Cyrus Peirce, as does the brilliant exposition of the origins of graded schools without the inclusion of John D. Philbrick. The volume presents no basically new organization but contains some distinctive material and is a splendidly lucid narrative.

This is not the definitive synthesis of early American educational development for which there is so great a need. Probably this is in part a reflection upon the scholarship within this area, which lags behind that in some other branches of history. Some of the available recent scholarship is not included by Professor Monroe. For example, he passes over portions of Morison's evidence and discounts the work of Knight in his defense of the New England origins of the American public school system (pp. 109, 114). He disregards the results of Curti's research in *The Social Ideas of American Educators (passim)* and pays no attention to the evidence gathered by the same writer regarding Locke's influence upon American education (p. 204). He slights both the findings of Elsbree on *The American Teacher* (p. 148 and *passim*) and those of Knight with reference to education in the prewar South *(passim)*. Recent scholarship would hardly sustain the author's statement concerning the Civil War: "Besides the very general influence, which can be overlooked in this account, there was little direct result of the conflict on education" (p. 229).

Dr. Monroe's keen interpretations and analyses are stimulating and are real contributions which will well serve future students in this field. Among his conclusions, however, are a good many which the evidence does not support or for which no evidence is given either in this book or in its companion volume of *Readings*. Lack of space precludes a discussion of these. The book in its first printing contains numerous minor errors of fact. For instance, Mann's *Common School Journal,* which appeared in November, 1838, is called the first of a group of teachers' magazines (p. 240), while actually Barnard's *Connecticut Common School Journal,* which was published in August, 1838, and not in 1840 (p. 241), antedated it. Mann succeeded J. Q. Adams in the House, not Daniel Webster in Congress (p. 251).

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Carelessness in detail is noticeable throughout. For example, Calvin Wiley is called "Caleb" (p. 287), and different dates of origin are given for Barnard's early journal (pp. 241, 385) and Russell's journal (pp. 240, 497).

There is no bibliography, the index is poor, but the format and typography are excellent. The only documentation is to the "Quotations" in Volume II, which is a positive microfilm "volume" of *Readings in the Founding of the American Public School System*. The aim of this new departure is to make more accessible the texts of documents upon which Volume I is based. It is disappointing that the flavor of the old sources could not have been preserved through photographic reproductions of the original documents rather than in microfilmed positives of typewritten transcriptions.

Johns Hopkins University. RICHARD E. THURSFIELD.

Path to Freedom: The Struggle for Self-Government in Colonial New Jersey, 1703-1776. By DONALD L. KEMMERER. [The Princeton History of New Jersey.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1940. Pp. xvi, 384. $3.75.)

NEW Jersey's progress along the path to freedom is described by Dr. Kemmerer in terms of the conquest by the assembly of highly valued privileges and powers. Taken together, these constituted a large measure of self-government within the mixed form of the royal province. The proprietary regimes in East and West Jersey left a legacy of land disputes which long complicated the pattern of New Jersey politics. They also left a tradition of vigorous assertion by colonists and their assemblies of local liberties and privileges. Though most of these were lost under Lord Cornbury, the assembly retained the power to levy taxes—a power further expanded when, after 1709, the lower house successfully maintained its title of "general assembly". Other old powers and privileges were recovered, still others newly established: specific appropriations, auditing of accounts, virtual nomination of the treasurer, limitation of the force of the governor's instructions, establishment of a table of fees, etc. The notable years in the conquest of a partial colonial autonomy are shown to have been the decade from 1723 to 1733. There were retreats as well as advances. In 1744 the parliamentary bill to give instructions the force of law met with a "strident cry of protest" from New Jersey (p. 186). Had it been enacted, the author asserts, the American Revolution might have come earlier. After 1763 the New Jersey assembly with its fellows elsewhere was challenged in its pretensions by parliamentary power as well as by royal prerogative. By 1769 the tide had definitely turned. Although the author has dealt more perfunctorily with these later years, he has established a continuity with respect to the constitutional issues which is sometimes blurred.

These issues were always specific, their background the conflicts between assemblies and governors and home authorities over appropriations, defense, loan acts, bills of credit, and the like. The background is here pictured in

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great detail. The method of strict narrative, chiefly of politics, has its virtues and its defects. There is a good deal of repetitious interweaving of themes and some chronicling of pretty small beer. But in the end the patient reader will have learned the concrete meaning of self-government as it was being sought and partially achieved in one English province. How little these early eighteenth century American conceptions were modified by the greater events of 1763 onward is seen in the terms of the New Jersey constitution of 1776.

The most valuable single contribution of the volume is in the treatment of the money question, which is handled with marked technical competence. The author also shows a greater realization than most of the continuing importance of the currency question as a political issue after the passage of the act of 1764. To be sure, he seems to me to overstress the debtor influence upon the currency policies of this province and to give scant recognition to the colonists' case for "reflation". The moderation of the Jersey program, on the one hand, and the aberrations and inconsistencies in the policy of the board of trade, on the other, might well have been given greater emphasis. It is difficult for this reviewer to regard the colonists' "threats" that they would be unable to support government adequately unless satisfied in their currency needs as on a lower level than the insistence by the authorities at home that the concession of what they also recognized as necessary relief must be tied up with a permanent civil list (see p. 239).

Dr. Kemmerer has not neglected to paint the portraits as well as to appraise the qualifications of his principals, the royal governors and provincial leaders. Robert Hunter, Francis Bernard, and William Franklin get his highest rating. But Lewis Morris emerges as his most engaging character.

University of Michigan. VERNER W. CRANE.

Archives of Maryland. Volume LVI, *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1758-1761* (26). J. HALL PLEASANTS, Editor. [Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society.] (Baltimore: the Society. 1939. Pp. lxxvi, 552. $3.00.)

VOLUME LV of the *Archives of Maryland,* reviewed in the issue of this journal for April, 1940, embodied the proceedings and acts of the assembly of Maryland from April 8, 1757, to May 13, 1758, four several sessions in a period of a little more than thirteen months. The present volume carries the record from October 23, 1758, to May 6, 1761, somewhat more than three and a half years, in which there were six sessions. The record of the latter period, nevertheless, is encompassed in just two thirds the space required for the former. For one thing, there was less legislation; for another, the messages back and forth were less voluminous.

The diminution of volubility in the retorts courteous (or otherwise) does not, however, argue an increase of amicability between the lower house, on the one side, and the upper house and the governor, on the other. On the contrary, the controversy over the supply bill that chiefly animated the pre-

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vious sessions continued with scarcely an abatement through the six sessions of the later period. Four times, in the former, a supply bill passed by the lower house was rejected by the upper; six times, in the latter period, a like bill was sent up, only to be straightway turned down.

One part of the controversy was over the mode of taxation to be employed, another over the application of the funds. The lower house insisted upon imposing taxes on incomes derived from salaries, fees, professions, and other occupations, and in addition "an equal assessment on estates, real and personal". The proprietary naturally opposed taxes on his own lands, as a threat to his prerogative, while the proprietary interests generally opposed a system of taxation primarily affecting themselves. Aside from any local concern, the proposed taxes on incomes are of especial interest as being probably the first attempt of the sort among the English colonies.

It is not undeserving of record that the two houses did (although by the narrowest of margins) reach an agreement to scoop out a considerable quantum of the fund set apart for the purchase of scalps and divide it up as presents among the officers and soldiers. (The reviewer finds it difficult to restrain himself from comment and comparison.)

In all these proceedings of the Maryland assembly from 1757 to 1761 two facts stand forth with especial prominence: one is the effort by the popular branch of the assembly to free itself from all restraint on the part of the proprietary—a struggle matched by like efforts in other colonies during the same period; the other is the blindness of a majority of the lower house to the larger problems involving the American colonies as a whole. In the earlier period, when the cause of Great Britain was in jeopardy, Maryland showed extraordinary shortsightedness and indifference; in the later period, after British success in the contest with France had been assured, that shortsightedness and indifference toward the concerns of the empire were even more marked.

With regard to the editorial contributions to the production of this volume there can be only the highest commendation. The extensive introduction to this volume, like that to its predecessor, is an admirable exposition and commentary on the assembly's proceedings.

Washington, D. C. EDMUND C. BURNETT.

Ethan Allen. By STEWART H. HOLBROOK. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. viii, 283. $2.50.)

THIS is the "low-down" on Ethan Allen. Stewart Holbrook, leaving his narrative field, has turned to biography, finding in the famous Vermonter a subject proper to his accustomed style, with hotheadedness scarcely to be overstressed. In colloquial language the author tells his tale with a swing that carries it through to a dwindling activity and a forgotten end. As Mr. Holbrook finds no dignity in the story, he puts none into its handling, and

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probably rightly so. In life Ethan Allen wanted no pretenses, nor would he, after death, wish any covering up.

It is curious that Ethan Allen should today be a national hero. Ethan thundering his demand for the surrender of Ticonderoga is in every schoolbook. But from then on, in the average mind, he passes out of our national history, and so he does in fact. Not long afterward, gambling on a heavy risk, he failed to capture Montreal and was himself captured. Few know even his vivid story of these events and of his captivity. From that time he quitted the American cause, to devote himself to that of Vermont.

Yet Allen dazzled his time and continues to dazzle ours. And pursued further into his story by Mr. Holbrook than by any other writer, Allen is found to be consistent in all his actions—a braggart but ready for violence, of intense local patriotism, reckless and wasteful of his physical and mental powers. Mr. Holbrook loves to recount Allen's prowess in drink as well as in arms or in politics and leaves us with the impression that Allen was "old" at fifty-two and died as the result of a drinking bout. Apart from that, however, the author makes plain that Allen was of much service to his state in its curious history as an independent republic.

The book, overdoing certain modern trends, is the despair of the ordinary historian. Its bibliography is short, its references none, its style loose, its methods dramatic. As no one can check up on Mr. Holbrook's numerous quotations, he leaves nothing for a follower to do but to begin all over again. Yet Allen seems to have had the same effect on his other recent biographer, for John Pell, in his book of 1929, while using a more formal style, is equally uncritical and averse to references—and to analysis. For neither of these books endeavors to weigh Allen's real importance. It is particularly the defect of Mr. Holbrook's style that picturing Allen as a ring-tailed peeler (as in the blurb) he must leave him so. While none will ever write of Ethan Allen with greater gusto, there still is room for a biographer to assign him his permanent niche in relation to the other founders of Vermont.

Concord, Massachusetts. ALLEN FRENCH.

Alexander Hamilton: Portrait of a Prodigy. By DAVID LOTH. (New York: Carrick and Evans. 1939. Pp. 320. $3.00.)

THIS latest brief popular biography of Hamilton embodies an eminently readable and reasonably fair-minded delineation of his career and character. While offering next to nothing of fact or interpretation likely to interest scholarly specialists, it is calculated to suit the taste of the general reader. It is narrative rather than analytical, written with verve and candor, not burdened with details or footnotes but well seasoned with sprightly anecdotes.

As his chief source the author professes to have consulted the voluminous collection of Hamilton Papers in the Library of Congress, but it would appear that the material actually presented has been or could have been compiled from the secondary books and articles listed. Moreover, the author is

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not too well grounded in the history of the period. The purpose of the Stamp Act was not to make the colonists share the burden of debt left by the Seven Years' War (p. 46). The closing of the port of Boston and the contemptuous abrogation of the existing political rights of the colonists are erroneously cited as having been provocations for the Boston Tea Party rather than consequences of it (p. 48). Isaac Sears was a New Yorker, not a Connecticut man (p. 54). The Bank of New York, although organized in 1784 under a constitution drafted by Hamilton, was not chartered until 1791 and never had a legal monopoly in its field (p. 124). The statement that eight states ignored the Annapolis Convention is not accurate (p. 130). The vocational classification of members of the Federal Convention of 1787 is inaccurate (p. 134). Hamilton was not the youngest member of the Convention (p. 135). The signers of the Constitution numbered thirty-nine, not thirty-eight (p. 138). Hamilton's funding bill did not become law until August 4, 1790 (p. 173). The motives for Southern opposition to the assumption of state debts are not adequately explained (p. 173). No mention is made of Tench Coxe's contributions to the Report on Manufactures and the creation of the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures (pp. 188-89) or of Madison's contribution to Washington's Farewell Address (p. 240). The Naturalization Act of 1798 extended the period of required residence to fourteen years, not nineteen (p. 255). Significant individual changes occurred on the second ballot for President during the Jefferson-Burr deadlock of 1801 (p. 285).

Surely the time has come for the production of an adequate, detailed, quasi-definitive biography of Hamilton. We need a prodigious portrait, not another superficial "portrait of a prodigy".

New York University. JAMES O. WETTEREAU.

The Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Caroline: A Study in Jeffersonian Democracy. By EUGENE TENBROECK MUDGE. [Number 4 of the Columbia Studies in American Culture.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 227. $2.75.)

TODAY, when democracy and capitalism are threatened with extinction, it is difficult to comprehend that little more than a century ago our political institutions were in their infancy and our economic order as yet unborn. In the intervening years we have developed a philosophy of political expression, and we have chosen new means of earning a living. It was early in this formative period that John Taylor of Caroline made his contribution to American history. Taylor agreed that no other political system could be as satisfactory as one in which the people are the state. He stoutly maintained, however, that agriculture afforded the only virtuous way of making a livelihood.

Against antidemocratic forces and the forces that strove to build democracy upon an industrial rather than an agrarian foundation Taylor waged a lifelong crusade. He created a literature of protest against such heresies as

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the funding system, the alien and sedition laws, judicial review, geographic majorities, and protective tariffs. With perhaps more zeal than discretion he marshaled into his manuscripts a prodigious quantity of eighteenth century learning. In consequence these works are painful to read, and most readers agree with John Randolph of Roanoke that it would be a good idea to have them put into English.

Cloudy as is the method of Taylor, there is consistency in his purpose—to create in America an agrarian democracy. In order to justify his actions he first championed farming as the most moral of occupations. Second, he showed that political power was a by-product of economic prestige. It followed, third, that if agriculture was to flourish in an economic way it must be made technologically progressive. Prepared for political activity, the agricultural majority in each state could then wield its sovereignty over its agents, the state and Federal governments, so as to preserve and democratize the agrarian way of life. Finally, and as a last resort, Taylor created a constitutional refuge, for which he is called the prophet of secession.

Mr. Mudge appreciates Taylor's aim and, with occasional preliminary uncertainty, traces his ideas to their logical conclusions. Some readers will regret that more attention was not given to the historical development of the leading Taylor doctrines (such as the indivisibility of sovereignty). In his discussion the author escapes many but not all of the pitfalls of Taylor's own turgid style. Hence, from the desire to paraphrase all of Taylor, Mudge concludes sections, chapters, and the volume itself in afterthoughts rather than by climactic statements. Why John Adams's *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* . . . is consistently misquoted by the dropping of the vital *s* from *Constitutions* is not clear, since the author is aware that this work refers to the state constitutions. The repeated spelling of "principle and agent" (pp. 96, 100) is perhaps a more personal eccentricity. Nevertheless, the spirit of Taylor is faithfully presented, and for making available a careful selection of Taylor's writings Mr. Mudge deserves the gratitude of the historical profession.

Chicago, Illinois. BERNARD DRELL.

The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States. By MARCUS LEE HANSEN. Edited with a Foreword by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. xvii, 391. $3.50.)

IN a day when governments control movements of population closely, the late Professor Hansen's volume dealing mainly with individualistic emigration to the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century reads like an epic in freedom. No one will question its significance in interpreting the American heritage. Although the many economic and social forces which determined the emigration of western Europeans are explained and integrated more satisfactorily in *The Atlantic Migration* than in any preceding

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work, it is the individual that stands out. Professor Hansen has described a process of uprooting in Europe which required the qualities usually attributed to the pioneer of the American frontier. Without the liberalizing influences and the economic upheaval which encouraged the "human atom" to wrench himself free (p. 11) from traditional ties in countless communities stretching from Scandinavia to southern Germany, it would scarcely have been possible for America to become the "Common Man's Utopia" (chap. VII).

Similarly significant is the incidental treatment of the North Atlantic area as one basin of population. The panorama is viewed from a point far above local or national boundaries. When England's repeal of the corn laws or other revolutionary changes upset Continental agriculture and the Irish land system, the ports of Bremen, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Hamburg (p. 244) were crowded, the British roads and canals felt the strain, and the tide swelled across the Atlantic, north to Canada and south to the equator. If the United States was in disfavor, European migrants, already on the move, made their way elsewhere, as in the 1820's to Brazil and Russia (chap. V). The detailed scenes of overpopulation, hunger, and unemployment which accompanied the "Hopes and Fears of the Thirty Years' Peace" (chap. IX) are laid in all western Europe. In the same way, the comprehensive chapter, "Commerce bridges the Atlantic", combines the changes in transportation, port facilities, and in the growing American cotton, timber, and tobacco trades which were necessary to provide shipping for an increasing cargo of emigrants. Finally, between the years 1842 and 1846 attempts to colonize in Texas, Guatemala, and the Mosquito Coast indicated that officially supported groups were to fail, and the book closes almost dramatically with the mass movements of individuals which made up "The Flight from Hunger" (chap. XI) and "The Great Migration" (chap. XIII).

Those who have followed this or that phase of European emigration to the Americas will handle *The Atlantic Migration* with a sense of familiarity and enlightenment. Important facts, frequently overlooked by reader and investigator, are stressed; for example, that the American immigrant was not often a political refugee (pp. 273-74) or from the lowest stratum. In style and accuracy the author's and the editor's achievement is outstanding. Extensive work on Irish and German newspapers has been wisely checked with consular letters, legation dispatches, and other sources (pp. 359-60, 364, etc.). There may be some confusion regarding the large landholdings of William Brigham and William Bingham in the 1790's (pp. 62-63): the colonization of the Hamburg Germans was the work of the British Pulteney Association rather than of the Dutch investors (p. 62). One turns from this erudite and human explanation of American origins with but a single regret: that Professor Hansen's story did not reach into the period when southern and eastern as well as northwestern Europeans made the Atlantic migration.

Baltimore, Maryland. HELEN I. COWAN.

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The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples. Volume I, *Historical*. By the Late Marcus Lee Hansen, University of Illinois. Completed and prepared for Publication by John Bartlet Brebner, Columbia University. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. xviii, 274. $3.00.)

This volume, to be followed by a second containing the relevant statistics, belongs to what may already be called the North American School. It is a lean, packed account which organizes an immense array of facts into a story graced by singular clarity and continuity. The authors have the true historian's gift of crystallizing the confused and intertwined items of human experience into an intelligible pattern, not stripped of its complexity but visible through it. The last chapter, written by Professor Brebner, is so of the warp and woof of the whole, both in its meticulous scholarship and in its point of view, that without the statements in introduction and foreword one could not detect the change of authorship. There are several helpful maps but no separate bibliography. Sources, however, are cited by their first use in the full and accurate index.

Professor Hansen has told a tale of successive streams, waves, and backwashes in the intermigration of English-traditioned North America, from the late eighteenth century practically to the present. The area concerned forms a huge crescent, its horns pushed upward first in the east by the loyalist settlements in New Brunswick and recently at the other extreme by western farmers from the United States in Saskatchewan and Alberta. Between, both in space and in time, were the southward migrants from Lower Canada and Ontario in the deep trough of the Great Lakes region. The reader, following cause to effect, is given an almost cinematic view of the working out of the economic guide to settlement in one developing country made up of two free nations. With the social and sociological tangles and shifts in public opinion that often followed these population changes the book does not pretend to deal.

What at first reading may seem a fault of disproportionate emphasis is really proof of the integrity of the account. The reader notes that the book is written throughout mainly from the Canadian point of view, which gives it a somewhat one-sided effect. But Canada was always more conscious of the movements to its southern neighbor than was the United States of the reverse migrations, which means that this treatment reflects a chapter in the history of public opinion. Any well-read Canadian will recognize in the account an old story, long familiar in parliamentary debates and treated by the press as a major national problem. But to many equally intelligent Americans its marshaling of actual population changes will be a new tale, for Congress usually left the westward movement to the people except when new lands were to be opened, and the American press was busy with local movements. Hence it is easy to find out and explain what Canada thought of the whole

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process, whereas the complex filling in and expansion of the United States is as difficult to see and portray as the traditional three-ring circus.

Books like this are milestones on the way to that race history which shows government action not as the core of the account but merely as the conditioning frame within which the truly important human story takes place. To have re-created the sense of push and pull that breeds migration, to have clarified the diverse factors that brought about four great hegiras and a score of lesser movements, and to have done all with scholarly detail and plentiful documentation, is to have created a work of authentic insight and permanent worth. Such a monument Professor Hansen in passing has left to his memory.

Hunter College. FRANCES MOREHOUSE.

Men of Marque: A History of Private Armed Vessels out of Baltimore during the War of 1812. By JOHN PHILIPS CRANWELL and WILLIAM BOWERS CRANE. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1940. Pp. xiv, 427. $3.75.)

THOUGH Maclay gave to the Baltimore privateers a place in the sun along with the other privateers of the Revolution and the War of 1812, it has remained for Messrs. Cranwell and Crane to present to the reading public the first full-length account of the Baltimoreans as privateersmen in our second war with England. In approaching their subject the authors realized that they were dealing with a field concerning which there is much popular misunderstanding; and they are, therefore, at considerable pains to clear the way with definitions and historical background. They carefully distinguish between privateersmen and pirates, privateers and public cruisers, privateers and armed merchantmen sailing under letters of marque, Baltimore clippers (schooner-rigged) and the clipper ships (square-rigged) of subsequent decades. They discuss the characteristics of these schooners and their special suitability for privateering; they discuss the strategy and tactics of privateering and agree with Mahan that *la guerre de course,* whether by public or private-armed vessels, cannot achieve decisive results against a sea power capable of fleet action.

After three well-organized preparatory chapters the authors begin their sea yarns, which they spin through twenty-nine chapters. They tell their stories without the hindrance (or benefit) of footnotes and relegate any data which might impede the narratives to the appendixes. Appendix A contains a descriptive list of all private-armed vessels out of Baltimore, with the names and disposition of their prizes. The description shows for each vessel whether she was a privateer or an armed merchantman (commonly called a "letter of marque") and gives her tonnage, length, beam, depth, place and date of building, complement, armament, captain, lieutenants, owners, and date of commission, as recorded in the customhouse registry. Appendixes B and C list alphabetically the masters and owners, respectively, with the ship or ships which they commanded or owned.

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It often happens that a reviewer finds that the chapter content does not live up to the glamor suggested in the chapter title; but this reviewer has here found gratifying spiciness, full flavor of the sea, dramatic but convincing details, combined with every appearance of sound research and scholarship. The book was written with an evident love of the sea and nautical adventure. There are eleven pictures of privateers and privateersmen, one chart, a facsimile of a letter of marque, and a facsimile of a proclamation of a blockade of the British coasts (which one privateersman had the temerity to forward to Lloyd's "for the government of all persons interested"). The binding and format join with the text to make this a work of distinction.

Norfolk Navy Yard. WILLIAM M. ROBINSON, JR.

A Diplomatic History of the American People. By THOMAS A. BAILEY, Stanford University. [Crofts American History Series, Dixon Ryan Fox, General Editor.] (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1940. Pp. xxiv, 806. $4.25.)

AT a time when foreign affairs are fraught with more peril for the American people than at any period since the Revolution, the appearance of Professor Bailey's admirable survey of our diplomatic relations to 1939 is more than welcome. In comprehensiveness, sense of proportion, fairness, and clarity it leaves little to be desired. Sound scholarship, happily mated to an easy and delightful style, has given us a book equally serviceable to college classes and to the general public.

The title of the book is significant, for in no other survey of the history of American foreign policy has public opinion been treated at such length or with such outstanding success. Professor Bailey has enlivened his text with pithy excerpts from the press and periodicals and embellished it with twenty significant cartoons. For the recent period he has utilized the results of the Gallup and *Fortune* polls as well as press digests in the Hoover Library. As a result the reader perceives that American diplomacy functions not in a vacuum but in a democracy.

Professor Bailey has wisely restrained any tendency to ride his own hobbies or to allot undue space to the considerable number of topics on which he has delved in unpublished materials. There is no question, however, that the treatment of the important period subsequent to 1898 gains greatly from the author's work in the archives of the Department of State, especially for the period of the Spanish-American War and for the subsequent history of our relations with Japan. Noteworthy, too, is his treatment of the strategic factor in this period. Professor Bailey has drawn some material of interest from interviews with actors in the events described, including Assistant Secretary of State Loomis, Senator McNary, and the late Senator Borah.

In view of the care with which Professor Bailey has studied the much debated *Lusitania* question, it is of interest to notice the stress he lays on the fact that the nature of her cargo "had no legal bearing on the old rule that

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an enemy merchantman must be warned before destroyed" and that he stands on his earlier statement that "no credible evidence has been forthcoming to indict the British government of having deliberately exposed the ship" (p. 627 and n.).

This timely survey is well supplied with maps and equipped with an excellent index of thirty-two pages. Each chapter is followed by a brief bibliographical note compiled with the same critical evaluation of materials and sound judgment which characterize the book as a whole.

Williams College. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, 3RD.

Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819. By PHILIP COOLIDGE BROOKS. [University of California Publications in History.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1939. Pp. x, 262. Cloth $2.50, paper $2.00.)

DR. Brooks's thesis on the Adams-Onís negotiation is carefully documented and clearly, not to say interestingly, expressed. He precedes the main study with two chapters which summarize the regional background and earlier diplomatic details bearing on his topic. In this portion of his survey he has not only made use of significant monographs but has himself delved extensively into the archival material. This proof of painstaking research, supplemented by clear and forceful exposition, permeates the entire volume.

One is impressed by the scope of his references, which show personal familiarity with the National Archives at Washington, with the Archivo nacional of Mexico, and with the Spanish archives at Simancas, Madrid, and Seville. We should expect this in such a study, but footnotes and the well-classified bibliography also reveal adequate examination of kindred collections in Paris, London, and Ottawa, not to mention numerous family papers in Europe and America. Among the latter one notes a conspicuous lack—the papers of John Quincy Adams. It is to be hoped that the illiberal policy now pursued with respect to the Adams Papers will not continue indefinitely. In his thorough survey of printed and manuscript sources the author seeks to illumine all phases of disputed points, including an adequate presentation of the European background, and to interpret as well as record the results of his labors. Other specialists may not always agree with his interpretations, but they will respect his thorough methods and fairness.

One welcomes the numerous character sketches that lighten the narrative, based as they frequently are on information pieced together from contemporary diplomatic correspondence. Onís and Adams naturally receive major attention—the former of an unusually favorable sort. The Spaniard Pizarro emerges as an able and farsighted minister who early recognizes the necessity for territorial adjustment with the United States. Clay, Monroe, Jackson, and other more familiar figures receive adequate treatment. Dr. Brooks definitely clarifies the technical phases of this tangled diplomacy. The Floridas are not acquired as a "purchase" but through a mutual renun-

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ciation of national claims, which in neither case gives complete satisfaction. The monetary consideration applies only to the assumption by the United States of claims due its own citizens. Adams is rightly relieved of responsibility for the relinquishment of claims to Texas. Dr. Brooks emphasizes, as does the persistent secretary himself, the acquisition of Spain's claims to Oregon. This negotiation is carefully linked up with contemporary diplomatic issues, such as filibustering and the recognition of the Hispanic American republics.

In addition to his main text the author presents an illuminating preface, an adequate index, a classified and annotated bibliography, two maps, portraits of Adams and of Onís (the latter from the collection of a lineal descendant, Professor Federico de Onís of Columbia University), and a facsimile page from the letter with which the Spanish minister forwarded the treaty. In his appendixes he gives the text of the treaty and a lengthy description of John Melish's map, upon which it was based. An obvious slip occurs in "William *J.* Crawford" (p. 171), and the Nueces River (p. 218) could be characterized a little more accurately. Proofreading and presswork are seemingly excellent.

Northwestern University. ISAAC J. COX.

Green Flag over Texas: A Story of the Last Years of Spain in Texas. By JULIA KATHRYN GARRETT. (Dallas: Cordova Press. 1939. Pp. xv, 275. $2.50.)

No state in the Union is more interested in its past history than is the state of Texas. In recent years scholars have pushed back the authentic story, year by year, to the beginning of American penetration into this vast domain in the Southwest. Dr. Garrett's book is an excellent illustration of what can be accomplished by painstaking research in giving substance and reality to the nebulous chronicles of the early years, accounts that, heretofore, have usually been based on rumor and tradition and often perpetuated in saccharine memoirs.

Dr. Garrett devotes the early part of her book to outlining the background and the genesis of the Gutiérrez-Magee filibustering expedition, the first pretentious attempt, originating on American soil, to secure the independence of Mexico from Spain. It was not, per se, an attempt to set up an independent *republic* of Texas, though this objective is often inferred and stated by Dr. Garrett. At this period, 1813, the state of Texas was to have become a part of an expected free Mexican republic.

The account of the origin and organization of the expedition, based largely on scarce and unprinted materials, is well presented. What are now known as fifth column activities were carried on vigorously through the various mediums of propaganda directed, principally, by William Shaler, "United States Special Agent". The ubiquitous General James Wilkinson hovered on the fringe of intrigue, actively represented by his youngest son,

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Joseph Biddle Wilkinson. The leadership and the direction of the revolutionists, however, was one story of jealousy and ineptitude after another. Final failure could hardly have been avoided. As the author says: "Intrigue, lack of leadership, one ill-planned battle destroyed 'the weak monument of Texas independence'" (p. 229).

The *Gaceta de Texas,* "prepared for publication" at Nacogdoches, May 25, 1813, but "printed in Natchitoches", is identified as the "first newspaper in Texas" (pp. 193, 201), thus pushing the date of the "first" Texas newspaper back six years beyond McMurtrie's *Texas Republican* of August 14, 1819.

The title of this book leads one to look for an attempt to identify the origin, significance, and history of the "green flag". Perhaps it cannot now be done for lack of evidence, but several times the author's mention of the flag is misleading or incorrect. On page 179 she speaks of the "green flag of the Texas republic". At this time there was no Texas republic. On page 236 the green flag is called "the seventh flag of Texas". It was rather *one* of the seven.

There are a few typographical errors, there is a good bibliography, and there are numerous footnotes. Several maps are used, and there is an index. As Dr. Bolton has written in his introductory note, this book turns "a veritable flood of new light on a dramatic episode in Southwestern history". It constitutes a valuable addition to the early history of Texas.

Port Washington, New York. THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

The Formative Era of American Law. By ROSCOE POUND. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1938. Pp. x, 188. $2.00.)

IN these lectures, delivered at Tulane University, Pound reviews the processes through which the United States provided itself with a body of private law during the century after independence had deprived English statutes and English precedents of binding force. He considers the historical development from the threefold point of view of legislation, judicial decision, and doctrinal writing. At the outset the "natural law" philosophy of the eighteenth century was the most potent of all the formative influences because it supplied a sturdy faith that human reason could construct and reconstruct legal institutions. One of the impulses to which this faith gave rise was the impulse to remedy existing legal inadequacies and anachronisms by legislation.

"The legislative reform movement began here rather than in England" (p. 20). But the movement was largely one of repeal—a movement for sweeping away outmoded restrictions on individual activity rather than for readjusting human obligations (p. 44). When legislation went beyond this, it not merely met with opposition but displayed serious inadequacies both in technique and objectives. "Mr. Justice Holmes tells us that historical continuity in law is not a duty, it is a necessity. If lawyers too often insist upon the duty, legislatures quite as often overlook the necessity" (p. 62). "Perhaps

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legislatures are more unmindful than the courts of the limitations of effective legal action" (p. 58). In any event, American faith in legislation was early superseded by a marked distrust which prevailed down to very recent years. Pound thinks that sound results are not to be expected of legislation in the field of ordinary private law until something is done to provide an impartial agency free from organized pressures which can give adequate study and preparation to legislative proposals (pp. 68-70).

In the past the main development of American law has been not through legislation but through judicial decisions. For more than a century this development was remarkably coherent and systematic in spite of wide divergencies in personal and economic background between the individual judges through whom it was carried on. Pound recalls that Chief Justice Shaw of Massachusetts was the son of an extremely poor orthodox clergyman; Chief Justice Gibson of Pennsylvania was the son of a prosperous frontier businessman of unorthodox tendencies; and Chief Justice Ruffin of North Carolina was a conservative aristocrat of the old South.

> The differences in their parentage, bringing up, social environment, political affiliations and economic surroundings should, according to psychological and economic determinists of today . . . have led to three judicial traditions. Yet they cooperated in making a consistent body of law on the basis of the tradition they had been taught in the offices of lawyers whose training through office apprenticeship ran back to barristers trained in the inns of court. . . . It seems to be impossible for a Marxian determinist to comprehend an honest man (pp. 86, 88).

Necessarily, judges are influenced to some extent by ideas from outside the precedents. During the most active period of our legal growth, from 1825 to 1875, their contact with such ideas was largely through a series of great constructive textbooks for the most part written by law teachers from Kent and Story down to Cooley and Dillon. Through such treatises the bench ultimately imbibed analytical and historical theories of law in substitution for the earlier natural law theory. The result was, in Pound's opinion, to impair the effectiveness of judicial decisions as a constructive force in legal growth.

> A characteristic of the historical theory [of law] is . . . juristic pessimism; a conviction of . . . the impossibility of improving the law through conscious effort. . . . Few things have been more irritating to the lay public in a time calling for legal growth than the attitude of many of the strongest men in the profession to which the historical mode of thought has given rise. Legislation they pronounced vain. . . . Judicial decision could not be asked to achieve changes. It must of necessity run along historical fixed lines (pp. 115-16).

The outgrowth of this disgust was, first, the creation of administrative commissions and ultimately the topsy-turvy revolt against fundamental legal ideas which we are in the midst of today.

University of Pennsylvania. JOHN DICKINSON.

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Felix Grundy, Champion of Democracy. By JOSEPH HOWARD PARKS. [Southern Biography Series, edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and Fred C. Cole.] (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 368. $3.00.)

FELIX Grundy was one of those numerous American politicians who loomed large in their own day, only to pass into complete oblivion for all but specialists in local or period history. In Grundy's case the phenomenon is not difficult to explain. A striking personality, genuine oratorical ability, and a gift for political strategy made him a national figure during the thirteen or more years in which he represented Tennessee in Washington. In the House of Representatives, 1811-14, he was a prominent "war hawk"; in the Senate, 1829-39, he was a lieutenant of Andrew Jackson and of his successor. But Grundy was never more than a lieutenant, and he left behind him no very solid achievement. One reason may lie in the fact, abundantly shown in Mr. Parks's biography, that he lacked settled convictions. Before leaving Congress in 1814 he proposed a new Bank of the United States, and after the Second Bank was established he exerted himself to secure a branch for Tennessee; yet later he assisted Andrew Jackson in destroying the entire structure. In 1830 he was an outspoken advocate of Calhoun's doctrine of nullification, yet within three years he was supporting Jackson's Force Bill against the South Carolina nullifiers. If these changes were the result of anything other than political expediency, Mr. Parks fails to show it.

There is much of interest in Grundy's career, in Congress and out. He was a highly successful criminal lawyer. He was a state legislator in both Kentucky (where he lived until 1807) and Tennessee, a judge of the Kentucky court of appeals, a commissioner for Tennessee in the settlement of a difficult boundary dispute with Kentucky, and, for a brief period under Van Buren, attorney-general of the United States. He helped to destroy the congressional caucus as a machine for presidential nominations, made the very modern suggestion of basing the tariff on the difference in cost of production at home and abroad, helped to enlist Webster's aid for Jackson in the nullification battle, and tried vainly to heal the breach between Jackson and Calhoun.

Mr. Parks has diligently explored such Grundy papers as are extant and available, county and state records, newspapers, published correspondence, the proceedings of Congress, and all the usual categories of sources and secondary materials. One important item apparently overlooked is Swisher's biography of Taney. The bibliography is usefully annotated. The arrangement of material in the text is not always the best, as where, after reading of the conclusion of the nullification controversy, one is carried back to Grundy's campaign for re-election in Tennessee, the exigencies of which partly explain his stand on nullification. But there are few serious flaws in the book, and Mr. Parks is to be thanked for rescuing an interesting figure from obscurity.

University of Buffalo. JULIUS W. PRATT.

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Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers during Slavery and after, 1840-1875. By ROGER W. SHUGG. (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1939. Pp. x, 372. $3.50.)

WITH the courage of convictions based on more or less equal proportions of competent research and salty insistence not to be deceived by traditional patterns, Professor Shugg has plunged into one of the more difficult and elusive problems of Southern history. Where others have talked of writing the history of the South in terms of the striving of its common folk, he has actually constructed a book around this central theme. He has taken the white farmers and laborers, isolated them as a class, described their economic, social, and political status, and shown how they influenced and were influenced by the course of events. He has elected a period, 1840 to 1875, of rapid and extensive change in which adjustments to slavery, civil war, and reconstruction must each in turn be described. He has chosen a state, Louisiana, where the structure of urban classes in New Orleans is added to the agricultural pattern to make a more than normal degree of complexity.

Now this is no easy assignment, and a review of the results should be read in full appreciation of the difficulties confronted. The book has virtues which no one should overlook. Its approach is original. Its style is vigorous, stimulating, and convincing. The thesis is for the most part valid, and it is applied to factual evidence with a richness and depth of understanding. Some passages in the book are not especially novel in content, as for example the chapters on the characteristics of the several classes, social conditions in the old regime, and free labor in its relation to slavery. Yet these chapters needed to be written, and they are admirably presented with reassuring mastery of material. The book contains a number of stimulating ideas, new facts, and novel interpretations. Pertinent in this respect are the analysis of the methods by which planters, merchants, and lawyers perfected a government by gentlemen and of the laborers' role in the Civil War, the argument in regard to the survival of large agricultural holdings in the post-bellum era, and the explanation of what happened to the poorer classes after 1865.

Professor Shugg has some trouble in adequately solving the problem of class analysis, and perhaps in this connection he errs on the side of making the class distinction too definite. The structure and relations of classes in Louisiana were extremely complex. The group Professor Shugg seeks to "isolate" as a "class" was a preponderant majority of the white population. Its occupations were many and diverse, and in status it was intermediate between richer and poorer elements. Consequently it was an inchoate group, exceedingly difficult for the historian to jell into any category that remains fixed. The problem becomes all the more acute because the society of which this group was a part was moving into, engaging in, and recovering from, civil war and because it was a society torn by racial antagonisms at a time when the Negro was passing from slavery into freedom. Professor Shugg is fully aware of these considerations, and at no point does his treatment become doctrinaire in interpretation. But there are times when it does seem as

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though the valid insistence on class division had led to an oversimplification of a confused situation.

Harvard University. PAUL H. BUCK.

Wisconsin: A Story of Progress. By WILLIAM FRANCIS RANEY, Professor of History, Lawrence College. [Prentice-Hall Books on History, edited by Carl Wittke.] (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1940. Pp. xvii, 554. $5.35.)

THIS latest addition to the Prentice-Hall series of state histories will find its greatest value as a tool for ready reference and secondarily as a textbook. It is crammed with detailed facts and statistics from cover to cover but supplies little of interpretation, is not sufficiently complete for the specialist, and lacks the narrative quality which would appeal to the general reader. This is not to belittle its many good features, for it bears the impress of scholarly workmanship, is clearly written, has excellent selective bibliographies as well as a fair index, and its format is to be commended. Until the art of writing state histories has been better perfected it will serve well the state for which it was written.

The author digresses in one point from the usual pattern of state history writing. Having postulated the thesis that Wisconsin history cannot be understood apart from that of the nation, with which all will agree, he proceeds to fill in at each step the national background for events in Wisconsin rather than to presume that the reader has this general information. In fact this is done so thoroughly that the work becomes a history of the United States with special emphasis upon Wisconsin. In all other respects it follows the conventional procedures. There is much information of only antiquarian interest; credit is claimed for Wisconsin wherever possible in the best chamber-of-commerce vein; for nearly every person mentioned there are complete data as to date and place of birth, education, marriage, and death; the material is organized in the usual topical fashion with the usual chapter headings.

Economic developments are heavily stressed, principally through masses of statistics. Other cultural aspects are less fully treated, the chapters on literature and art being little more than a catalogue of persons who lived temporarily or permanently in Wisconsin, while religion and the impact of immigration upon Wisconsin culture are only noted in passing. One could well wish for a more adequate exposition of the general contribution of Wisconsin to the life of the nation.

As might be expected in an effort to digest so great a mass of factual material, some few errors have crept in. Milton College (p. 447) has always been a Seventh Day Baptist institution rather than Adventist, and Rock County will never concede to Dane County credit as the birthplace of Ella Wheeler Wilcox (p. 465). Some will doubtless be inclined to quibble over the accuracy of many generalizations, more for what is left unsaid than otherwise, as in the statement of the composition of the county board (p. 133) and in the treatment of pensions to the blind (p. 513).

Ann Arbor, Michigan. BENTON H. WILCOX.

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The Birth of Kansas. By G. Raymond Gaeddert, Kansas State Historical Society. [University of Kansas Publications, Social Science Studies.] (Lawrence: University of Kansas. 1940. Pp. 232.)

The revision of Kansas history, begun by Frank H. Hodder and ably continued by his successor at the University of Kansas, James C. Malin, is carried far in the book under review. The author, a student of Professor Malin, is neither a doctrinaire Marxist nor an apologist for frontier statesmen. For his story of Kansas politics from 1859 to 1862 Dr. Gaeddert has combed an amazing variety of manuscripts and newspapers, many never before used for this purpose. In his work, more completely than anywhere else, one finds emerging the real issues behind Kansas politics: railroads, claims disputes, town lot speculation, Indian frauds, location of the territorial and state capital, and control of the patronage. These topics all receive some attention, but personalities and factional politics receive more. The reader is left under no illusions concerning the integrity of "Bloody" Jim Lane, "Old Pom the Pious" Pomeroy, R. C. Stevens, and the other "Jayhawk" statesmen. Only Charles Robinson receives sympathetic though not uncritical attention from the author. Not only are the Kansas politicians revealed for what they were, but others, like Caleb B. Smith and John C. Usher, successively Secretaries of the Interior in Lincoln's cabinet, William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Robert G. Corwin, Washington hanger-on and lobbyist, appear in an unfavorable light. Scandals involving these and many other prominent men are fully treated, but because the political story is given in detail the account of the rivalry over economic issues suffers.

There are a few minor errors: Edward Wade is confused with Benjamin F. Wade (p. 86); Lyman Trumbull's name is misspelled throughout; the Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western Railroad did not acquire the Pottawatomie lands. Use of the records of the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington, now in the National Archives, the *Eighteenth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1896-97, Part II), and Annie Heloise Abel's "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of their Title" (*Kansas Historical Collections,* Vol. VIII) would have clarified the latter problem. The author is not consistent in his method of listing the dates and numbers of volumes of newspapers he has used, and the reader has no way of knowing, for example, how much of the *Paola Chief* he has had access to. The book is a valuable contribution to American history and is a credit to the author.

Cornell University. Paul Wallace Gates.

Ben Holladay, the Stagecoach King: A Chapter in the Development of Transcontinental Transportation. By J. V. Frederick, Northwestern State College, Alva, Oklahoma. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1940. Pp. 334. $6.00.)

Ben Holladay well merits his title of "stagecoach king", both as the most important of Western stagecoach owners and as one of the best known of Westerners. He arrived at St. Louis in 1836 as a boy of sixteen and turned to

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clerking to earn a living. Seeing greater opportunity farther west he moved to Weston, where he gradually obtained ownership of several stores. Nothing was more natural than that he should soon become interested in the freighting that carried such a large proportion of Western business. National recognition waited, however, until he bought out the famous freighting firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell in 1862 at a foreclosure sale. He operated mainly on the central route across the plains, where he established a monopoly position within the next few years. His organization was a model of stagecoaching efficiency. Possibly the most astute of his many shrewd business deals was the sale of his entire property to Wells, Fargo, and Co. in 1866. But a few years were to elapse before the railroad was to take the heart out of the staging business.

Mr. Frederick's account of the career of Holladay is excellent within certain definite limits. The great bulk of the book is devoted to the years from 1862 to 1866; but minor attention is given to Holladay's earlier and later life, and his multitudinous interests that were related to staging are touched upon only slightly or not at all. Within this strictly limited field Mr. Frederick has combed all available sources of information to clarify the development of coaching and mail service over the central route, including Holladay's complicated relations with the Federal government. No errors of fact have been detected. The style of the writing is adequately clear but not exciting. Footnotes, bibliography, and appendixes provide a thoroughly scholarly setting for the narrative. The typography and price are both in accord with the usual high standards of the Arthur H. Clark Company.

For any student of the history of the Western plains this book will be on the "must" list. It supplies much desired information, clarifies many debated points, and presents the entire story in an orderly and comprehensible fashion. For the general reader of history, however, the book is of doubtful interest except to the most diligent. The carefully documented and detailed narrative contains dramatic and exciting material only incidentally. Its great service will be to later writers who can find here much important spadework done for them and who will therefore have many reasons to bless Mr. Frederick's diligence, care, and accuracy.

Dartmouth College. ROBERT E. RIEGEL.

Lester F. Ward, the American Aristotle: A Summary and Interpretation of his Sociology. By SAMUEL CHUGERMAN. [Duke University Press Sociological Series, Charles A. Ellwood and Howard E. Jensen, Consulting Editors.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1939. Pp. xiii, 591. $5.00.)

LESTER F. Ward, once a blazing sun in the firmament of American social science, went into almost total eclipse from 1915 to 1935. A generation trained to distrust sweeping syntheses and resolved to isolate minute problems to which, presumably, definite solutions could be found had little use for the grandiose structure of Ward's thought. Beginning with the thirties,

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however, there came a growing conviction that some problems can be so minute as to be meaningless and that the appearance of definite solutions is not always the substance thereof. Further, the rising tide of ideological thinking and the vogue of planning brought many social scientists face to face with the fact that plans and their accompanying techniques can never be other than instruments for the attainment of supreme objectives. The current ideology will always determine the end for which the plan, as a mere means, is to be utilized.

Ward was an ideologist par excellence. His "sociology" is really a naturalistic metaphysics garnished with references to social life. Is it not possible that his slow emergence from eclipse can be accounted for in terms of a felt need for an ideology diametrically opposed to many of those now passing current? Unabashed naturalism in which "synergy" takes the place of God, ardent championing of democracy in its equality-of-opportunity sense, faith in mass education as a remedy for all the ills that afflict mankind, and espousal of state socialism—here is an ideology which distressed intellectuals can clutch. Freud is no longer of ideological significance, and the realities of Marx's apocalyptic visions have not been vouchsafed to the faithful. What next? In the search for new gospels Ward, among others, was brought to light.

From 1935 onward there appeared, in rapid succession, selections from Ward's voluminous correspondence, his diary, several articles on his significance for the social planning movement, and now this work of hero-worship by Samuel Chugerman. The present reviewer thinks it highly unlikely that the Wardian ideology will have any great appeal at present or in the foreseeable future; the attempted revival is but one of many, and there seem to be stronger rivals. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt of the fervor with which the neo-Wardians expound the sacred writings. Partially supplying in devotion what they lack in numbers, the members of the sect face the ideological struggle with confidence.

Truth to tell, they possess in Chugerman's book a splendid compendium of Ward's doctrines plus much biographical detail about Ward himself. No student should attempt to struggle through the maze of Ward's writings without some such guide as this. Indeed, it may be said that for most persons Chugerman's volume will make unnecessary extensive reading of Ward himself. It abounds in apt quotation, the outline is clear and comprehensive, and Chugerman is so faithful a disciple that he confines himself to straightforward exposition.

American intellectual history, as currently written, strangely neglects Ward; although he is probably a minor prophet, he should not be overlooked, more especially since there is no longer any reason, where accessibility of reference is concerned, for overlooking him.

The Duke University Press has done very well with typography, paper, and binding, and the index of names and the general index are excellent.

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C. A. Ellwood and H. E. Jensen provide a brief editorial note, James Q. Dealey contributes an introduction of some fifty lines, Harry Elmer Barnes furnishes a foreword about twice as long, and Chugerman himself slips in a brief preface. The book does not need so much preliminary hemming and hawing, more especially as little of any significance is said. The reader is advised to begin with page 22.

University of Wisconsin. HOWARD BECKER.

The Path I Trod: The Autobiography of Terence V. Powderly. Edited by HARRY J. CARMAN, HENRY DAVID, and PAUL N. GUTHRIE. [Number 6 of the Columbia Studies in American Culture.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 460. $4.50.)

T. V. Powderly was the first American labor leader to gain national recognition and, as was inevitable, appeared to many as a savior, to many more as a menace. That he was neither goes without saying, but just what he was—an earnest preacher with a sense of humor—remained for him to clear up in this, his own, story of a full and useful life. The editors are to be congratulated on saving this record for posterity, and their promise to publish Powderly's letters is encouraging to Americans who want more of the short but none too simple annals of the relatively poor.

There are really two stories in this book: one of an American mechanic in a trade, making and made by the industrial revolution, and the other of a public man, mayor of an industrial city, head of the Knights of Labor, and Commissioner-General of Immigration.

In 1866 Terence Powderly, age seventeen, child of Irish immigrants, was apprenticed at Carbondale, Pennsylvania, to James Dickson, machinist, who had served his time under George Stephenson, inventor and builder of the locomotive. In 1873 Powderly was discharged by Walter Dawson for union activity. He went to Canada to freeze and starve, returned to Scranton, and lost four jobs through Dawson's influence before 1877, when he went into politics. Powderly would not have remained a machinist in any case. He was almost a lawyer when he became mayor of Scranton and head of the Knights of Labor, and he returned to his first love in 1893, when the K. of L. finally accepted one of his periodical resignations. Powderly was a good lawyer but an indifferent businessman. He would have made a fine preacher. As a labor leader he was miscast even for his time. He did not believe in high wages when wages were low. He hated strikes on principle when strikes were a necessary evil. He was a poor bargainer but a sensible man with strong convictions on most subjects, including art and birth control. He had one great success. In his relations with the Roman Catholic Church Powderly displayed qualities of statesmanship, and he was responsible, along with Cardinal Gibbons, for the fact that we have no split along religious lines in the American labor movement.

The Knights of Labor was a secret society with rituals, a biblical phrase-

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ology, and anticapitalistic leanings. The Roman Catholic clergy were opposed to it on all these grounds, and Powderly's biggest job as Grand Master was to fight ecclesiastical censure. In his life story he gives us an astonishing picture of the arrogance and violence of the priests and bishops. Even the most reactionary employers were angels of light beside some of these men of God. But Powderly stood up to them and won out. He was deeply religious but early lost his faith in the clergy, and he contradicts Cardinal Gibbons's story on a point of major significance.

Wesleyan University. NORMAN J. WARE.

The Negro in Congress, 1870-1901. By SAMUEL DENNY SMITH, Associate Professor of Social Studies, Mississippi State College for Women. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1940. Pp. xiii, 160. $2.50.)

The Negro in North Carolina Politics since Reconstruction. By WILLIAM ALEXANDER MABRY, Associate Professor of History, Mount Union College. [Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. vii, 87. $1.00.)

BOTH of these volumes suffer to a degree from confining themselves too closely to a part of the subject matter indicated in their respective titles—to the Negro, that is; and they slight in the one case "Congress, 1870-1901", in the other "North Carolina Politics since Reconstruction".

Dr. Mabry's volume is a clear and usable account of the details for North Carolina of a story whose broad outlines are familiar to students of the post-Reconstruction South. After sketching the background to 1876, it describes the formation of the North Carolina Solid South, the split over Populist reforms, the ups and downs of Negro suffrage, and the constitutional achievement of "white supremacy" in 1898-1900. But Dr. Mabry, in passing up an opportunity to fill in the details of the economic and social basis of North Carolina politics in his chosen period, has thereby given us only a "political history" in the restricted and old-fashioned sense. As far as it goes, though, it neatly closes up a gap in our shelf of monographs on Southern state politics after the Civil War.

Dr. Smith's book is much more seriously faulty in its emphasis. As Dr. Smith has developed it, his subject—the Negro in Congress—appears to be a poor topic of research. The Negroes in Congress have been so few in number and have been a group created by such very special circumstances that they prove nothing about Negroes, about congressmen, or about congressional electorates. The study shows, for example, that Negro congressmen were inclined to vote for pork-barrel measures; that they were for the most part loyal and "regular" party men, although now and then of reformist tendencies; that they were often involved in corruption; and that they were generally vociferous in support of legislation beneficial to their special (racial) constituencies. All this was also true of white congressmen. The superficiality of Dr. Smith's approach is well illustrated by this quotation:

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"Woodson claims that most Negro congressmen had more formal education than Warren G. Harding. This claim may be questioned, for Harding attended college for three years" (p. 7).

There is evidence of bias on the part of the author both in his choice and use of sources and in his handling of illustrative incidents. He appears in many cases to accept the estimates of Negro congressmen appearing in bitterly partisan Southern newspapers; he cites Reynolds on Reconstruction in South Carolina but not the more recent and scholarly Simkins and Woody. When a Negro congressman "made a plea for the support of Forts Moultrie and Sumter because of their historical associations", Dr. Smith finds this "a more pleasant phase of his interests" than an attempt to get enforcement of civil rights laws in Virginia (p. 47).

The study could have been significant only within a carefully worked-out background, dealing, for example, with the temper and character of Congress at various postwar stages, with the needs and demands of the Southern constituencies, and with the general social and political position of the Negro. Even then the subject might have proved too artificially restricted to warrant research.

The National Archives. PAUL LEWINSON.

The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy. By HAROLD A. INNIS. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. xviii, 520. $3.50.)

A product of careful, intensive research, Professor Innis's latest study is a storehouse of facts—technical, detailed, and statistical—concerning the fisheries of New England, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland from their beginnings to the present time. It lays bare the geographical setting of the industry, the methods it has employed, the markets for its products, the effects it has had on government within the three areas, its influence upon British imperial policies and their influence upon it, the part it has played in European conflicts, and its bearings on Anglo-Canadian-American relations. Mr. Innis has analyzed the economics of the fisheries (except that he has said little about the lot of the common fisherman), using such analysis as a means of explaining the influence which the fisheries have exerted upon the political evolution of one segment of the British Empire.

In the early struggle between France and England for mastery of the North American fisheries the English had two advantages. France, carrying on her fishery from home ports, failed to build fishing settlements in the New World. The English, too, operated from home ports, but in addition they formed settlements in New England and Newfoundland which extended the range of their operations. Secondly, the French depended upon markets in Europe; the English sold in those markets, too, but also supplied their own mainland settlements and the West Indies. Catholicism and slavery

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created the major demands for the English fisheries; the French relied upon the markets of Catholic Europe.

Before 1775 the English fisheries enriched England materially. Fish sold to the West Indies procured for England much of the specie that supported her East Indian commerce. Fish nourished the laborers who supplied the English sugar trade. In Portugal fish purchased wine for English consumers.

Three major conflicts arose among English fishing interests. First, the Westcountry fishermen and the New Englanders successfully fought monopolistic control by chartered companies (to 1650). Then the Westcountrymen strove to curtail the New England fishery and to crush the English settlements at Newfoundland, which were supported by trade with New England. As New England's fishery expanded after 1700 it grew beyond the capacity of Britain's West Indian colonies to absorb its output. The efforts of the British West Indian planters and of parliament to curb the New England fishery by destroying its markets in the French West Indies led to the American Revolution.

After 1783 Nova Scotia, aided by Britain, sought to extend her own fishery and to cripple that of the United States. Then, when Britain's free trade policy deprived Nova Scotia of British support, Nova Scotia turned inward to Canada, promoted Confederation, and used it as a means of holding the fishery for herself—and as a means of effective bargaining with the United States. Nova Scotia also diversified her economy by developing agriculture, inland transportation, and the coal, iron, and steel industries. Newfoundland remained dependent on the fishery. Her resulting isolation kept her apart from Confederation, while her native merchant class gained for her the status of a Dominion.

In recent times the fishery has succumbed to industrial capitalism, featured by the steamship, refrigeration, a growing demand for fresh fish, more extended operations, laborsaving devices, and the scrapping of old equipment. New England led the way; Nova Scotia followed. Newfoundland fell far behind, concentrating on salt cod, losing European markets, and depending upon a demand created by tropical countries, the products of which have felt severely the shocks of the depression. Lacking adequate revenues, Newfoundland in distress turned to Britain for aid and resumed the status of a colony.

Nova Scotia adjusted herself to new conditions because she had adopted capitalistic methods, because she had diversified her economy, and because she possessed in the Dominion a means of bargaining with the outside world. Nova Scotia thus continues to play a leading part in Dominion affairs, both political and cultural.

Mr. Innis presents many interesting conclusions. The fishery has not been a source of naval power. It has led to isolated settlements and disunity; it has enfeebled government; it has thwarted monopolistic control; it has resisted extreme integration and large-scale operations. "Frontiers were difficult to establish in the industry and on the seas."

University of Wisconsin. CURTIS NETTELS.

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Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September, 1817, to September, 1822. Edited with an Introduction by E. E. RICH, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, assisted by R. HARVEY FLEMING, University of Toronto. [The Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, II.] (Toronto: the Society. 1939. Pp. cxxxi, 372, xiii.)

WHEN the Hudson's Bay Company was fighting for its life against the ruthless and aggressive North West partners, it needed the services of a leader of men; but when it had coalesced with its enemies and achieved a practical monopoly of the fur trade in British North America, it found the abilities of a supervisor of clerks more agreeable to its views. These facts were probably more prominent in the mind of George Simpson, the hero of the "new regime", than in that of Colin Robertson, former champion of the company against the dread Canadians but now (after March 26, 1821) a mere chief factor in a tame trading concern. Yet it was not that success had sharpened Simpson's wits while neglect had dulled those of his rival. Simpson was that sort of man; whereas Robertson was of a different character.

In many respects the qualities and the career of Colin Robertson are symbolical of the history of the fur trade in his time. He came to Canada from Scotland, and he entered via the United States. He found employment at Montreal in the fur business, and he went into the interior in the service of the North West Company. Being possessed of high principles, he became disgusted with the methods used by his associates; and having an uncommon power of penetration, he soon realized that such men as he were being exploited by their employers. Since he was a man of action, Robertson was not slow to master the details of Indian trading or to leave the employ of the company when he saw that he was being victimized. On his return to England he offered his services to the Hudson's Bay Company; and now the actual genius of the man became apparent, because while a mere trader in the wilderness he had looked over the bitterly contested field of the North American fur trade with the eye of a general and had picked out the essential weaknesses of the North West Company and the potential superiority of its English rival. He knew already what later proved to be the determining facts in the fur war: the Hudson's Bay Company had a crushing advantage in its shorter route to the interior; and there was a natural incoherence in the Canadian concern which would be fatal in a protracted struggle.

How Robertson thus brought priceless information to the Hudson's Bay Company directorate; how he was subsequently chosen to lead, and did lead, an attack from Canada on the vital Athabaska fur preserves of the North West Company (an attack which, after many vicissitudes, really broke the power of the Canadian fur machine); and how, when no longer necessary to his new employers, he was turned off, "like to the empty ass, to shake his ears and graze in commons"—all this and much more of compelling interest, particularly to the fur trade historian but also in great measure to the general

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reader, may be discovered in the pages of this admirable volume. To anyone hitherto acquainted with the career of Colin Robertson only as a prominent incident in the fur war, it is a revelation to learn not only that he was a man with a large mind, a fascinating personality, and a striking command of English but also that he was, insofar as a fur trade struggle of continental proportions was concerned, both a strategist and a tactician of the first order and a figure whose historical significance dwarfs that of George Simpson to comparatively mediocre dimensions.

In breaking the North West Company for the chartered concern, however, Robertson was sealing his own doom. After the union and the arrival of peace the company had no longer a need for vigorous and resourceful servants. In fact the directorate, in the person of George Simpson, was able to move out to the fur field itself. In these circumstances Robertson was at best an obstacle and, at the worst, a potential menace. Hence he was shelved and obscured in 1821 as quietly and carefully as possible.

Later, in trying to explain to the directors in London how essential he had been to their success and how worthy he was of better treatment, Robertson put together the letters here published. It has been the very equitable task of history to use these records to resurrect their author and establish him in his rightful place. In form, content, and arrangement the volume is worthy of its subject. The editor's introduction provides the necessary prelude to a proper appreciation of the letters—a thorough and impartial interpretation of their author's history. The several appendixes give welcome biographical details concerning the various personalities mentioned in the text, additional Robertson correspondence, and the chief official documents recording the union of 1821. The only thing to be regretted about the volume is the absence of a picture of the central figure. A portrait of Colin Robertson once existed, but its whereabouts at the time these letters were printed was unknown.

Queens College. JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT.

Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process. By C. A. DAWSON, Professor of Sociology at McGill University, and EVA R. YOUNGE, Social Research Assistant at McGill University. [Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, edited by W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg.] (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1940. Pp. xi, 338. $4.50.)

ALTHOUGH this volume is primarily a sociological study, it contains a mine of information which will prove of the greatest value to the person who will one day essay the writing of the social history of the Prairie Provinces during the pioneering period. In spite of all that has been written about the influence of the frontier and of the oft-repeated process of pioneering in North America, this volume, together with the economic volumes in this same series, probably represents the only serious effort ever made to study frontier conditions through the medium of data gathered scientifically from

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the first settlers themselves. H. H. Bancroft, in his volumes on the Pacific Slope, made extensive use of the random recollections of old settlers; the authors of this and other studies in this series have had the benefit of a great variety of accurate information gathered by field workers from first occupants of the land, with faculties still unimpaired and with memories strongly buttressed by figures carefully kept. The result is not merely an important contribution to the history of the settlement of the Prairie Provinces but a body of material which helps to illuminate the pioneering procedure in the interior grasslands of North America generally.

Following an interesting discussion of "Trends in Population Growth and Ethnic Distribution" and of "Focuses of Social and Economic Organizations" on the prairies, the authors analyze, on the basis of firsthand evidence, the characteristics of an agricultural community on the fringe of settlement, a village centered community, and a small city. The fringe and village communities are, of course, typical of hundreds of similar centers in the Prairie Provinces.

Particularly significant are the chapters on "Agricultural Practices in Typical Pioneer Settlements", "Composition and Social Backgrounds of Pioneer Families", and "Expenditure Practices of Farm Families". These are based on extensive field work carried out in the years 1929-31 in ten rural communities in varying stages of economic and social development. Four of these are classed as stable settlements, widely scattered, two are transitional areas, two are termed "new pioneer" zones, while the remaining two are chronic fringe settlements. Those who appreciate the wide application of a detailed type study such as Hibbard's *History of Agriculture in Dane County, Wisconsin* will realize what it means to have ten type studies of pioneer communities of different degrees of maturity.

Six chapters are given over to the development of educational and religious institutions and of health services in the Prairie Provinces. These are chiefly historical in character and are more general than the other portions of the volume. While the land system, the cattle industry, dry farming, and various other economic institutions and techniques came to the Canadian West from the United States, American influences in these social institutions were negligible. The church and the school, the preacher and the teacher came to the West from the older provinces and from Britain. The prairie environment, however, bent these, as other, institutions to its needs. Here we have once more a convincing demonstration of the readiness of frontier communities, under stress of financial stringency, to experiment with innovations. Saskatchewan gave to Canada the rural municipal hospital scheme, the municipal doctor system, and the Red Cross outposts.

The value of the volume is appreciably enhanced by the ninety-two tables contained in the text and appendix, setting forth the detailed results of the extensive field work of which the book is so largely an outgrowth.

Brown University. JAMES B. HEDGES

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NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

A Short History of Freemasonry to 1730. By DOUGLAS KNOOP, Professor of Economics in the University of Sheffield, and G. P. JONES, Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Sheffield. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1940, pp. ix, 148, 5*s*.) This little volume aims to present the ordinary reader with "a survey of the facts relating to the growth of freemasonry up to the time when speculative masonry was firmly established, about 1730". It is based upon the five or more detailed studies already published by the two collaborators, whose sound scholarship is again demonstrated on every page of their new work. There are twelve chapters. Four of them cover the period of "operative" masonry; the remaining eight deal with "speculative" masonry. Most readers will find the earlier chapters of greatest interest, for they describe the mason when he was a part of the social and economic order of the society in which he lived, while the later chapters are concerned with him as a member of a secret society. For the medievalist the introductory chapters give many interesting and important facts which will augment the little he knows about the technology of medieval building practices and also many that will extend his knowledge of social and economic developments. The abundance of fact and the paucity of generalization make the book somewhat difficult reading. It seems, also, that the authors have not defined their "general reader" too clearly, and he turns out to be at the same time the reader of history and the modern Mason reading the history of his order. In this way the frame of reference is distorted, quite unintentionally, and the general reader loses his way in a mass of detail which lacks a central focus. GRAY C. BOYCE.

History of the Arabs. By PHILIP K. HITTI, Professor of Semitic Literature on the William and Annie S. Paton Foundation, Princeton University. Second edition, revised. (New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. xix, 767, $7.00.) "In this edition an effort has been made to bring the material up to date and to introduce necessary emendations. Due consideration was given to critical comments whether privately communicated or published as reviews".

Istoriya SSSR [a history of the U.S.S.R.]. Volume I, edited by V. I. LEBEDEV *et al.* Volume II, edited by M. V. NECHKINA. (Moscow, Gos. sotz.-ekon. izdat., 1939, 1940, pp. 792, 762, 12.55 r., 11 r.) This work, designed to serve as a textbook of Russian history for institutions of higher learning, is the result of a collective enterprise sponsored jointly by the Institute of History attached to the Academy of Sciences and the department of history of the University of Moscow. Volume I covers the period from the earliest times to the end of the eighteenth century; Volume II is devoted to the nineteenth century; a third volume will presumably bring the story down to date. Dozens of authors took part in writing and editing the text. The work is comprehensive in scope, offering not only social and political history but also an account of cultural developments, and there is an attempt to bring non-Russian ethnic groups into the picture. The authors were guided by pronouncements from such exalted sources as Stalin himself on how textbooks of Russian history should be written, so that what we have here is in effect the officially sanctioned version of Russia's past. In Volume I there

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is a general introduction on the historiography of Russia and, at the end, a chronological table and a general bibliography; in Volume II each chapter is followed by an ample bibliography; both volumes are provided with maps.

AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY.

A Philosophy of History. By EMIL SCHWARTZ. (Boston, Christopher Publishing House, 1940, pp. 98, $1.50.)

The Role of the Individual in History. By GEORGE PLEKHANOV. (New York, International Publishers, 1940, pp. 62, 20 cents.)

Index of Research Projects. Volumes II and III. (Washington, Works Progress Administration, 1939, 1940, pp. v, 208, vi, 243.) These two volumes continue the useful listing with brief descriptions of the research projects being carried on under the auspices of W.P.A. Out of 2,492 subjects in the social sciences only nine are entered under the subdivision of history, and most of these relate to purely local history. A number of other subjects of historical interest are included elsewhere in the *Index*. Microfilm reproductions of most of the full reports are obtainable at a cost of one cent per page. Volume II was published in collaboration with the National Resources Committee and State Planning Agencies.

RICHARD B. MORRIS.

The Kress Library of Business and Economics Catalogue, covering Material published through 1776, with Data upon Cognate Items in Other Harvard Libraries. (Boston, Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1940, pp. x, 414, $5.00.)

Catalogue of the Autograph Collection of the University of Rochester. Compiled by ROBERT F. METZDORF. (Rochester, University of Rochester Library, 1940, pp. 176, cloth $2.00, paper $1.00.) "To the late Charles A. Brown '79, a trustee and generous benefactor of the University of Rochester, who presented his remarkable collection of autographs to the Library of the University in 1914, this annotated catalogue is in some sense a memorial. For some years after Mr. Brown made this gift he continued to add to it, until the number of autographs and manuscripts reached a point where systematic classification and cataloguing became essential. In addition to the Brown letters other manuscript material was presented by friends of the University, most of which is incorporated in this catalogue."

An Atlas of World Review. By CLIFFORD H. MACFADDEN, Department of Geography, University of Michigan. Foreword by Robert Burnett Hall, Professor of Geography, University of Michigan. (New York, Crowell, 1940, pp. [164], $1.95.) Each map is faced with a page of descriptive and explanatory matter.

Today and Destiny: Vital Excerpts from "The Decline of the West" of Oswald Spengler. Arranged with an Introduction and Commentary by EDWIN FRANDEN DAKIN. Based on the Text of the Authorized Translation of Charles Francis Atkinson. (New York, Knopf, 1940, pp. viii, 364, $2.75.)

A History of Western Civilization. Part II, *Development of Contemporary Civilization.* By WILLIAM J. BOSSENBROOK. With Contributions by Richard V. Burks, Paul K. Butterfield, Sidney Glazer, Winfred A. Harbison, Rolf Johannesen, Alfred H. Kelly, Frank L. Kemmer, Raymond C. Miller, Buford L. Pickens, Earl H. Pritchard, Ernst Scheyer, Wayne University. (Boston, Heath, 1940, pp. xxiii, 805, $3.75.)

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Early Diplomatic Missions from Buenos Aires to the United States, 1811-1824. By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS. [Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1939.] (Worcester, the Society, 1940, pp. 93.) In the preparation of this scholarly monograph Professor Bemis has made good use of his unequaled acquaintance with the sources of our diplomatic history to sift an astounding amount of information of the most varied origin, printed and in manuscript, in the United States and in European and South American archives. On the field it covers this study is exhaustive. In his conclusion the author summarizes the part played by the United States in the Spanish American Revolution and argues that it contributed more to the success of that cause than did Great Britain's. Without taking general issue with this thesis, this reviewer questions its inclusion here. It does not follow necessarily from the facts presented, which pertain to a much narrower field. It is to be hoped that some scholar as well qualified for the task as Professor Bemis will undertake a broad study of the international politics of this era in Europe and America and clear up controversies such as these, which cannot be laid to rest in monographs of limited scope. CHARLES C. GRIFFIN.

Grazhdanskaya voĭna v SShA i tzarskaya Rossiya [the Civil War in the U.S.A. and czarist Russia]. By M. M. MALKIN. Edited by E. V. TARLE. (Moscow-Leningrad, Gos. sotz.-ekon. izdat., 1939, pp. 331, 7 r.) This study of Russian-American relations during the years 1861-65 throws new light on a little-known phase of the diplomatic history of the Civil War. The material drawn upon by the author includes unpublished records from the Russian Archives of Foreign Policy and the Maritime Historical Archives.

Bismarck, Decazes, och den europeiska krisen, 1875. By TORVALD T:SON HÖJER. With a résumé in French. [Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift.] (Uppsala, A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln; Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1940, pp. 178, 5.50 kr.) This is the most complete and satisfactory study of the subject that has come to my attention. Since the publication of Joseph V. Fuller's article, "The War Scare of 1875", in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1919, new and important sources have come to light, and many students of European international politics have attempted to unravel the mysteries and to appraise the significance of the episode. Höjer has assembled the scattered material and has criticized the divergent interpretations with sound common sense. His analysis of the problems and his collation of the literature leave nothing of importance to be done except to find out whether new information can be obtained from new sources. It would be desirable, as he suggests, to have fuller knowledge of the reports of the Austrian ambassadors at Berlin and Paris and, above all, to investigate the Russian archives. At present our information about the actions and views of the Russian statesmen comes almost exclusively from non-Russian sources. The résumé in French gives a convenient summary of the crisis but offers little to readers who are acquainted with chapter II of William L. Langer's *European Alliances and Alignments.* LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL.

Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Hawaii, 1885-1889. By CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL, Professor of American History, Fordham University. [Fordham University Studies, Historical Series, No. 1.] (New York, Fordham University Press, 1940, pp. 53, 50 cents.) This monograph, first of these studies, reveals, chiefly from the papers of Thomas F. Bayard, the interfering watchfulness required of a Secretary of State when dealing with a territory and regime to which the United States claimed to be next of kin. After a résumé of

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the earlier relations of Hawaii with foreign governments alternately covetous and dog-in-the-manger, the detailed study starts with the Senate's amendment to the administration's convention extending the reciprocity treaty: a concession granting the United States the right to establish a naval base in Pearl Harbor. In addition to soothing Hawaiian sensibilities on this point Bayard intervened to oversee Hawaiian borrowing from British bankers and to point out the dangers of "a rude collision" with Germany as a result of King Kalakaua's harebrained alliance with that candidate for the Samoan crown whom the Germans seemed resolved to liquidate. Meanwhile the secretary was declining an invitation to become a third party to an Anglo-German guaranty of Hawaiian neutrality and was letting it be seen by the ambassadors of those two powers that in Bayard's view of Hawaiian-American relations it was "simply a matter of waiting until the apple should ripen and fall". Interesting and useful as this account is, it of course suffers from the disadvantage of being the record of one side of an imperialistic triangle. JEAN BROOKES.

Fifty Years of War and Diplomacy in the Balkans: Pashich and the Union of the Yugoslavs. By Count CARLO SFORZA. Translated by J. G. CLEMENCEAU LE CLERCQ. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. x, 195, $2.75.) In his chatty and discursive work, hinging on the personality and efforts of Pashich to establish the union of the Yugoslavs, Count Sforza emphasizes that "what happened in the Balkans was, up to 1914, the result of bitter struggles for influence conducted by the various European cabinets, especially those of Vienna and St. Petersburg. The Balkans appeared to be the actors; they were in reality but pawns in a game that was being played in the capitals of the Great Powers." The thesis, of course, is not at all new, but it is well presented, although one wishes, from the academic point of view, that it had been buttressed with more documentary material and with at least some bibliography. Since the whole approach stresses not only the personality of Pashich but also that of the author, the subjective approach can hardly be evaluated without utilizing a subjective evaluation. In this respect, it seems to the reviewer, Sforza has given us a very readable, personal, and useful series of historical canvases of the history of the Balkans. J. S. ROUCEK.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and Germany's Eastern Policy. By JOHN W. WHEELER-BENNETT. New edition, revised and enlarged. [Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. 14.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1940, pp. 39, 10 cents.)

Palestine. By JAMES PARKES. [Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. 31.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1940, pp. 32, 10 cents.)

Freedom's Battle. By J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO. Translated from the Spanish by EILEEN E. BROOKE. (New York, Knopf, 1940, pp. xix, 381, viii, $3.00.) This is a welcome but, in some respects, a disappointing book. It is of utmost importance to the historian that the outstanding figures on either side of the Spanish struggle present written accounts of their experiences and state their cases. Since Señor Azaña's recent death has unfortunately deprived us of a most important narrative from a principal figure on the government side, we are grateful for Alvarez del Vayo's interpretation, for he, likewise, was a key personage in the Popular Front government. The book is disappointing in that it is composed in the subjective spirit of the actual conflict, is meager in citation of documents, and adopts the attitude of the modern journalist school of

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"black and white", "yes and no", writing of history. Its thesis is that the government cause was that of democracy versus the totalitarian governments and that the present conflict is merely a continuation of the struggle. The attempt to represent Russia as an exponent of democracy, in view of her recent relationship to Germany, Poland, and Finland, is, to say the least, somewhat of a strain on the reader's powers of belief. We have still to await a calm dispassionate analysis of the Popular Front government's failure to maintain order in Spain among its own adherents in the period from February to July, 1936, a failure which paved the road for Franco's victory and which still gives rise to suspicion that certain powerful elements on the left were using the Popular Front government as a steppingstone to some form of dictatorship of the left in Spain. We should like to have an extended and documented exposition from the government side of the failure of its own following to accord disciplined support to the Republican regime. ARTHUR S. AITON.

The Middle West looks at the War. By WALTER H. C. LAVES, University of Chicago, and FRANCIS O. WILCOX, University of Louisville. [Public Policy Pamphlet No. 32, Harry D. Gideonse, Editor.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940, pp. v, 63, 25 cents.)

Documents on the Events preceding the Outbreak of the War. Compiled and published by the German Foreign Office. (Berlin, German Foreign Office; New York, German Library of Information, 1939, 1940, pp. clvi, 549.)

The War: First Year. By EDGAR MCINNIS. With a Foreword by Raymond Gram Swing. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. xv, 312, $1.50.) The author, a Canadian professor of history, has had the good sense not to be overwhelmed by his material in this volume, which was first published serially under the sponsorship of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Beginning with a useful summary on "background", this masterly condensation of events up to September 1, 1940, will be helpful for some time. Public awareness of war was greater in 1939 than in 1914, and this means that more forces played upon international relations and military history. With the broadening horizons of the nature of total war in recent historiography, one might expect that the author would have tried to incorporate more material on the home front, propaganda, and the repercussions of this war in social and cultural life, utilizing, for example, such volumes as the "Mass-Observation" survey edited by Harrisson and Madge, *War begins at Home,* and Taylor's *Strategy of Terror.* Maps, chronological tables, and a documentary appendix improve the volume, which should be compared with the serial history by Stephen King-Hall and K. Schwarz's *Der Krieg,* covering up to February, 1940.

RICHARD H. HEINDEL.

America and a New World Order. By GRAEME K. HOWARD. With a Foreword by Major-General James G. Harbord. (New York, Scribner's, 1940, pp. 121, $2.00.)

The American Jewish Year Book. Volume 42, *5701, October 3, 1940, to September 21, 1941.* Edited by HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN for the American Jewish Committee. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1940, pp. xxxii, 815, $3.00.)

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GRAHAM STUART. The Havana Conference and Defense of the Americas. *World Affairs Interpreter,* Autumn.

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ANCIENT HISTORY[1]

T. R. S. Broughton

Explorations in Eastern Palestine, III. By NELSON GLUECK. [The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.] (New Haven, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1939, pp. xxiv, 288, plates XXII, maps, $2.50.) This survey of Transjordan is an outstanding example of what may be accomplished at relatively small cost in areas where the basic cultural sequence is already well outlined. Workers in topography will find much useful material here. A revised conception of the Nabateans as a prosperous settled people with a highly developed knowledge of hydraulic engineering, rather than a semi-nomadic group of traders, is demanded. This revision makes clearer the connections between the Nabateans and contemporary Babylonia and Iran which passed along the ways leading from the eastern Nabatean lands to central or southern Babylonia. The connections between Nabatean Transjordan and the Hauran should be clarified by an archaeological survey of the last named area. Though little of the fine Nabatean pottery has been reported north of Madeba, both the history and architecture of the Hauran make it clear that the Nabateans were there. Scholars inclined to seek in climatic changes an explanation of the abandonment of large areas in the Near East should read this report.

[1]Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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For in an area now very sparsely settled Glueck discovered the engineering works by which the available springs and rainfall were conserved and distributed so that an extensive settled population might live. Food for thought may also be found in the fact that the area was almost uninhabited from 1900 to 1300 B.C., although previously and subsequently it supported a large settled population. No doubt this happened elsewhere as well. More surveys of this kind should and undoubtedly will be made in the future.

N. C. DEBEVOISE.

The Romans in Spain, 217 B. C.-A. D. 117. By C. H. V. SUTHERLAND, of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, University Lecturer in Numismatics. (London, Methuen, 1939, pp. xi, 264, plates XII, 8*s.* 6*d.*) The first half of this book gives in rapid survey an account of the early history of Spain, of Punic and Greek activities along the coasts of the peninsula, of the expulsion of the Carthaginians by the Romans, of the long years of rebellion, of the final completion of the conquest, and of the economic development in the last century of the republic. The latter part deals with the policies and activities of the Roman emperors to the time of Trajan. The author reaches the conclusion that Spain paid a heavy price for the Roman peace. Economic subjection resulted in the movement of its wealth to Rome or at least into the hands of Romans. The granting of Roman citizenship drew the attention and the presence of able Spaniards to the imperial city, to the cost of the province. The failure of the Romans to provide forms for meeting provincial needs by the province as a unit resulted in complete apathy. Noteworthy features of the book are the careful analysis and description of early Roman administration, of the methods of the extension of Roman power, of the process of Romanization, and of the economic life of the region under Roman rule. The author's use of coins in the development of his story is especially interesting and valuable. The development of municipal life and of the institutions of city government under the emperors, however, receives scant attention. Useful plates of coins, statues, and structures are placed at the end of the book, followed by two maps. The story of conquest would have been easier to follow had the author inserted small sketch maps in the text to illustrate the successive campaigns. The book is a useful compendium of information for those interested in the Roman Empire or in the history of the long troubled Iberian peninsula.

WALLACE E. CALDWELL.

Daily Life in Ancient Rome: The People and the City at the Height of the Empire. By JÉRÔME CARCOPINO, Director of the École française de Rome. Edited with Bibliography and Notes by HENRY T. ROWELL, Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins University. Translated from the French by E. O. LORIMER. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940, pp. xv, 342, $4.00.) This English translation of Carcopino's book is well done. It combines accuracy with smoothness and freedom from effort. Professor Henry Rowell has supplied an explanatory bibliography and has added twenty-three illustrations. These are selected with care and are admirably clear photographically. The editor has also extended and improved the references in the notes, frequently replacing citations of French secondary sources in the original edition with corresponding references to works written in English. The total result is a book which is more attractive, typographically, than the original and better adapted to the uses of English-reading students. It would be too bad if Carcopino's estimate of the population of Rome in Augustus's time were to be accepted by teachers and students. He states that it was "close to a million, if indeed it did not exceed that figure" (p. 18). The calculation which leads to this swollen number is based upon an assumption regarding per capita grain consumption in antiquity

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(p. 290, n. 34) and an assertion of Augustus Caesar which Carcopino has misinterpreted. Augustus, in the *Res Gestae* (chap. 15), states that he had given a largess of 60 denars *viritim* (*kat' andra* in the Greek version) to 320,000 of the urban plebs. The word *viritim*, and *kat' andra* as well, according to Carcopino, would confine the largess to "male adults". The Roman largess lists, however, included girls and women (Lex Julia Municipalis, 4-15); and *viritim* means "individually", without restriction to male individuals. Also the "man-by-man" registers and tax lists from Egypt show, in dozens of cases, that the phrase *kat' andra* does not exclude women. The calculation of Carcopino is therefore invalid. The old figure of 700,000 for Rome at its highest point, as Julius Beloch estimated it, should still stand. W. L. WESTERMANN.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Gray C. Boyce

Tancred: A Study of his Career and Work in their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine. By Robert Lawrence Nicholson. (Chicago, private edition distributed by the University of Chicago Libraries, 1940, pp. 240, lithoprinted.) Tancred was the first of the great leaders of the First Crusade to receive an official biography, but the *Gesta Tancredi,* written by Raoul de Caen about 1112-18, hardly meets the criteria of modern criticism, and a scholarly biography of this *"Norman enfant terrible",* as Dr. Nicholson terms him, has long been needed to complete the studies of the Norman leaders of the crusade begun by David's *Robert Curthose* and Yewdale's *Bohemond I.* There have been earlier studies of Tancred, but none until the present work offered a critical examination of the entire career of the hero, whose reputation, probably, will always be distorted by the romantic role assigned to him in Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata.* Dr. Nicholson's biography is a straightforward narrative, heavily documented with profuse citations of both primary and secondary sources, which in its form, content, and objectivity well meets all scholarly standards. The book devotes one chapter to Tancred's ancestry, four chapters to the First Crusade, and seven chapters to the career of Tancred in Syria, 1099-1112. Dr. Nicholson is no apologist for his hero and admits Tancred's ingratitude, cruelty, and ambition but maintains that he was in character no better and no worse than his contemporaries and in vision and judgment superior to most of them, as his administration of the northern counties indicated a policy which, if followed up, would have made them really strong states. An extensive bibliography lists the sources consulted; the only glaring omission is Schlumberger's *Numismatique de l'Orient latin,* which should have been used in connection with Tancred's coinage. There is, unfortunately, no index. The lithoprint process by which this book is published is a bit hard to read but promises to be the best solution of the problem of publishing doctoral dissertations. John L. LaMonte.

Ocherki po istorii feodalizma v Kievskoi Rusi [studies in the history of feudalism in Kievan Russia]. By S. V. Yushkov. (Moscow, Izdat. Akademii nauk SSSR, 1939, pp. 254, 9 r.) Professor Yushkov is the author of a book entitled *Feudal Relationships in Kievan Rus,* in which he established analogies between the institutions of the Kievan state and those of feudal Europe. In the present work he devotes only a few final paragraphs to the difference between Russian and Western feudalism. The bulk of the volume is a history of Kievan Rus in the eleventh and twelfth centuries told in terms of feudal institutions and relationships. There is also a chapter on the earlier period, which the author describes as "prefeudal". Avrahm Yarmolinsky.

Istoriya russkovo letopisaniya xi-xv vv. [a history of the Russian chronicles of the 11th-15th centuries]. By M. D. Priselkov. (Leningrad, Izdanie Leningradskovo gos. universiteta, 1940, pp. 188, 7 r.) This volume, issued under the auspices of the University of Leningrad, is a study of the *letopisi* considered as a source of historical information. Beginning with a discussion of the Primary Chronicle, the book ends with an analysis of the Moscow *svod* of 1479. It is apparently the first attempt at a general survey of this important phase of early Russian historiography and for that reason alone is a notable contribution. It is to be hoped that the author will write a sequel dealing with the annals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Avrahm Yarmolinsky.

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Rolls of the Warwickshire and Coventry Sessions of the Peace, 1377-1397. Transcribed and edited by ELISABETH GUERNSEY KIMBALL, Mount Holyoke College. With an Analytical Index of Indictments by THEODORE F. T. PLUCKNETT, Professor of Legal History in the University of London. [Publications of the Dugdale Society.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. xcvi, 221, $13.50.) This carefully edited volume of records of the justices of the peace contains a transcript of the complete Latin text of three rolls for the town of Warwick and two rolls and a membrane for the town of Coventry at a time when it was the fourth city in the kingdom and the industrial center of the midlands. In her clearly written introduction Miss Kimball discusses the circumstances leading to the compilation and preservation of these particular rolls, the commissions of the peace under which the sessions of the peace printed in the volume were held, the personnel of the commission, the dates and places of the sessions, the work of the sessions, and the relationship of the sessions to the work of other agencies of justice such as the coroner, the justices of gaol delivery, and the king's bench. She concludes that the appointment of urban justices of the peace was not the result of a definite policy of the central government but an experiment tried in certain places because the existing system did not work. She stresses that during the early fifteenth century the practice of giving local officials the powers of justices of the peace became more common with a corresponding decline in the number of urban commissions of the peace. These records are a valuable addition to the source material available to the student of criminal law and administration in the reign of Richard II. Of especial interest are the entries relating to the role of the borough constable in the presentment of offenses, the great number of regrating and forestalling presentments, the presentments for forming confederations to restrain trade (p. lxii), and presentments for forming a gild of journeymen (p. lxxx). Professor Plucknett's analytical index of indictments will add greatly to the usefulness of the volume. ARMAND B. DU BOIS.

The Statute Merchant Roll of Coventry, 1392-1416. Transcribed and edited by ALICE BEARDWOOD. [Publications of the Dugdale Society.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. xxvi, 88, $12.00.) The *Statute Merchant Roll of Coventry* is a valuable document for two reasons: first, because it adds to our knowledge of an important medieval borough, and secondly, because it throws light on a general problem—in this case, the enforcement of the Statute of Merchants and the question of debt. It is in the second aspect that Miss Beardwood's interest lies. In her introduction she discusses the remedies open to creditors, particularly the remedy offered by the Statute of Merchants. She shows how, after the early years of the fourteenth century, as illustrated by entries on the Coventry Roll, this action was used to record loans, guarantee title to land, secure the performance of contracts, and enforce guarantees of other sorts. While this development of the Statute of Merchants is not traced here for the first time, the material on the Coventry Roll is used to confirm the conclusions of other scholars. Miss Beardwood also draws attention to the value of the document for the local historian. Thanks to the interest and effort of the Dugdale Society and the officials of the borough of Coventry there are in print, in addition to the famous *Coventry Leet Book*, the *Register of the Trinity Guild*, various records of the justices of the peace for Coventry, and now the *Statute Merchant Roll of Coventry*. If, as may be the case, the originals of these documents have suffered in the recent devastation of the city, at least the more important of its thirteenth and fourteenth century records have been preserved. The value of the present volume is enhanced by three excellent indexes—of persons, places, titles and trades (the last also discussed in the introduction)—

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and by the use of an asterisk to indicate which persons mentioned on this roll were members of the great Trinity Guild of Coventry. ELISABETH G. KIMBALL.

Les mises en prose des épopées et des romans chevaleresques du xiv^e au xv^e siècle. By GEORGES DOUTREPONT. [Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques.] (Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1939, pp. 732, 120 fr.)

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

John Bale: A Study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation. By JESSE W. HARRIS. [Illinois Studies in Language and Literature.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1940, pp. 157, paper $1.50, cloth $2.00.) Between his birth in 1495 and his death in 1563 John Bale lived through the Reformation, two imprisonments, and two exiles. He was a Carmelite prior, a parish priest, a bishop, and a prebendary. He was also a dramatist, biographer, martyrologist, bibliographer, editor, and religious controversialist extraordinary. In this scholarly study the details of his life are carefully worked out and his literary efforts described in summary form, with the plays receiving most of the attention. If the work has any defects, they would seem to be the rare ones of brevity and a cautious tendency to underestimate the importance of the subject studied. Bale played an important as well as colorful part in the Reformation and deserves much more

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attention than he has commonly received. His barbed and salty controversial shafts—too frequently expurgated from the Parker Society edition of his works compiled in Victorian times—might well be quoted at greater length in such a study as this if the funds of university presses permitted. For if not a Shakespeare, Bale, like his colleague and associate-controversialist William Turner, was a hard-working, versatile, courageous, and witty man. He should not be forgotten. M. M. KNAPPEN.

The Tudors and Stuarts. By M. M. REESE, Head of the History Department at Wellington College. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1940, pp. 440, $2.00.)

Proceedings, Minutes, and Enrolments of the Company of Soapmakers, 1562-1642. Edited by HAROLD EVAN MATTHEWS. [Bristol Record Society.] (Bristol, the Society, 1940, pp. vii, 263.) These proceedings of the Soapmakers' Company of Bristol are devoted to rather bald entries, in the established tradition of gild records, of admissions to apprenticeship and mastership, to wardens' accounts, and to references to the society's hall and other possessions. Such information as is thus provided does little beyond amplifying the established facts of gild history. In 1603 new ordinances approved by the crown were drawn up. At about the same time there is evidence of a considerable amount of internal taxation to provide for common purposes, such as the erection of a new hall and payment for legal services. Still more important were the efforts of the majority of the company, representing an old-established group of craftsmen, to resist technological change in their industry. Fixed minimum prices for their product, limitations on the number of apprentices, quotas of production, and prohibitions of the use of substitute raw materials point to the fact that capitalist methods involving the use of train and seed oils in place of olive oil were being used by the more aggressive masters to the detriment of those who, unwilling or unable to adopt the new techniques, tried to hold their position by restrictive regulations. Insofar as such measures were successful they contributed to the weakness of the Bristol industry in competition with the more technologically advanced London soapmakers during the later 1630's, especially after these had secured crown privileges in return for royalty payments. F. C. DIETZ.

Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston. Volume III, *1655-1660.* Edited from the Original Manuscript, with Notes and Introduction, by JAMES D. OGILVIE. [Publications of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, Volume XXXIV.] (Edinburgh, printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable, 1940, pp. lxxxiv, 195.) This is the concluding volume of the Scottish History Society's edition of Wariston's diary, the earlier volumes of which were published in 1911 and 1919, respectively. "For the present volume it has been judged expedient to print the diaries with much abridgment, and to include only such passages as reflect Wariston's life in its relation to the times, his motives as revealed by himself, and the working-out of them as he followed the slippery paths to which he set himself, until his fall, so much greater because of the heights he had attained."

The Parliamentary Diary of Sir Edward Dering, 1670-1673. Edited by BASIL DUKE HENNING, Instructor in History, Fellow of Saybrook College in Yale University. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940, pp. xviii, 178, $2.50.) We have only a few diaries for Restoration parliaments, and hence the value of this latest addition to their number. Sir Edward Dering's diary, a little more ample for the period it covers than Anchitell Grey's *Debates,* is a mine of information on the activities of the

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house of commons. Students of economic history will find some material in the debates on supply and ways and means, and students of British imperial history will be interested in a debate on parliament's power to tax Ireland (pp. 14-17). As would be expected, however, the diary will prove of chief interest to students of parliamentary procedure. It contains not only descriptions of procedure but also shrewd comments on disputed points. Dering makes the familiar complaint of irregularities in procedure (p. 4); and familiar also are several comments on the pressure of business and the shortness of time (*e.g.*, pp. 45-47). There are comments on amending a bill after the third reading (pp. 42-43) and on allowing the withdrawal, rather than the rejection, of a bill after the first reading, with the effect, says Dering, that it may be presented again "in hope to pass that in a thin House which would not go down in a full House" (p. 82). These are only a few of the matters discussed. A careful reading is necessary to uncover all the material on procedure. Something has been lost, as well as gained, in modernizing the spelling and punctuation of the original. But the editor has done his work well. The index seems to be good. The edition might be a little more useful if it included a calendar of parliamentary business similar to that in Dr. Robbins's edition of the *Diary of John Milward*.

CATHERINE STRATEMAN SIMS.

The Russells in Bloomsbury, 1669-1771. By GLADYS SCOTT THOMSON, Somerville College, Oxford. (London, Jonathan Cape, 1940, pp. 384, 15*s*.) By the marriage in 1669 of William Lord Russell, later the Whig "martyr", and Rachel, daughter and coheir of the earl of Southampton, the Russells came into possession of the Bloomsbury estates. This volume's theme is the development of that property and the life of three generations of Russells there, up to the death in 1771 of the politically active fourth duke of Bedford, leader of the "Bloomsbury gang". Miss Scott Thomson's earlier volume on the Russells, *Life in a Noble Household, 1641-1700,* was concerned with their estates and life at Woburn. From business letters, account books, and bills the author, through her literary skill and her great knowledge of the period, has constructed a fascinating book of importance for the social historian. In addition to the sections which chronicle the topographical, social, and economic development of the Bloomsbury district and analyze the augmentation of the Russell fortunes due to the increase in value of these estates, other chapters of especial interest are those on the second duke's patronage of music and the arts; that on the work of the fourth duke's estate agent in chief, Mr. Butcher; and that on the interests of the family in Greenland and in East India shipping and trade. GERDA RICHARDS CROSBY.

The Letters of Dr. George Cheyne to the Countess of Huntingdon. Edited, with an Introduction, by CHARLES F. MULLETT, University of Missouri. [Huntington Library Publications.] (San Marino, Huntington Library, 1940, pp. xxiv, 64, $1.75.) The writer of these letters is described by Professor Mullett as "a highly articulate practitioner, representative of a large corps of physicians whose share in the historical development of medicine has been slighted in favor of the 'great' names". He was the author of a number of medical treatises and was regarded by his contemporaries as an important figure in the medical profession. The originals of the letters here published are, with one exception, in the Hastings Manuscripts in the Huntington Library.

Empire on the Seven Seas: The British Empire, 1784-1939. By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. (New York, Scribner's, 1940, pp. xi, 391, $3.50.) This volume follows the author's *Building the British Empire,* which brought the British story down to 1783. Like the earlier volume, it emphasizes interpretation rather than detailed narrative or close analysis of institutions. Intended primarily for the

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general reader in the United States, it frankly reflects a sympathetic view of the British people, from whom, above all others, the author believes that the United States can hope for understanding and friendship. His judgment on events and policies is not withheld. Censure is intermingled with commendation, but always the discussion and comment are aimed at enlarging understanding. The style is chatty and at times impressionistic; it is always readable and persuasive. Much space is given to developments in Britain itself. Overseas expansion and the growth of imperial and commonwealth institutions are dealt with against this background. The whole subject is carried along from period to period without lingering for long at a time on any one part of the empire. The author succeeds in imparting a sense of continuity to the story as a whole.

REGINALD G. TROTTER.

The British Social Services. By A. D. K. OWEN, Stevenson Lecturer in Citizenship at the University of Glasgow. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1940, pp. 48.)

Winston Churchill at the Admiralty, 1911-1915. By R. MACGREGOR DAWSON. [Reprinted from the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* August, 1940.] (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1940, pp. 33, 25 cents.)

British Foreign Policy since Versailles. By W. N. MEDLICOTT. (London, Methuen, 1940, pp. viii, 316, 8*s.* 6*d.*) This volume is a veritable mine of factual information clearly stated and well organized. But it is more than that, for it is an attempt to trace the development of all the main factors influencing British policy since 1919. In addition, it is an estimate or evaluation of the wisdom or success of this policy during what the author characterizes as a "complicated and unsatisfactory chapter in modern history". Professor Medlicott's conclusion is that the ineffectiveness of British diplomacy during this period was caused mainly by the "variety of the problems facing successive governments". The problems in the Mediterranean, the Near East, the Far East, and elsewhere, which prevented Great Britain from concentrating her main attention on Europe or even on the North Sea, are briefly discussed. So, too, is the clash between ideology and realism within Britain, which, the author believes, supplies the essential clue to an understanding of British foreign policy since Versailles. Although the exposition of the factors influencing British decisions generally seems to justify those decisions, the author does not uniformly approve British policy. He admits, for example, that "the ultimate aims of the Chamberlain policy are decidedly obscure" and believes that during the Sudeten crisis British diplomacy showed "a depressing lack of initiative, foresight, and quick thinking". Few will question his contention that the most successful phase of Britain's foreign policy was with the United States. The book merits a careful reading.

F. LEE BENNS.

Speeches on Foreign Policy. By Viscount HALIFAX. Edited by H. H. E. CRASTER. [Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. x, 368, $4.00.) "The prefatory notes given to each speech are intended to give the minimum of information necessary to acquaint the reader with the circumstances in which the speech was delivered and to explain allusions contained therein. . . . The speeches have been chosen with the object of giving a more or less connected narrative of the events which led up to the present war and of illustrating the slow change in the British attitude towards Germany."

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

C. W. Cole

Richelieu: His Rise to Power. By CARL J. BURCKHARDT. Translated and abridged by EDWIN and WILLA MUIR. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. 413, $3.75.) Within the framework of his self-imposed restrictions Professor Burckhardt has wrought brilliantly. Himself a statesman, he is particularly felicitous in his lucid analysis of complicated diplomatic tangles and his intuitive understanding of political psychology. The emphasis in these detailed but undocumented pages is laid preponderantly upon the political and diplomatic history of France from the assassination of Henry IV to the flight of Marie de Médicis to Brussels. This attention to politics and diplomacy has diverted Professor Burckhardt from studying Richelieu in any aspect save as a man of public affairs. His principal contention, however, that the cardinal "at every point of his work relied on the full employment of the human reason" (p. 401) is amply substantiated. The present edition, which has been very ably translated, omits the afterword of the original one (*Richelieu: Der Aufstieg zur Macht,* Munich, 1935), in which it was explained that this study had been based upon the works of Hanotaux, D'Avenel, Fagniez, Belloc, and Battifol and contained no new archival material. Chapters XIV and XV, "Adel und Bourgeoisie" and "Der französische Kalvinismus", have been omitted, but otherwise abridgment has been relatively infrequent and unimportant. Sixteen illustrations adorn the volume, which is also provided with an excellent index. ARTHUR M. WILSON.

Une vie d'ambassadeur du roi soleil: Les missions de Charles-François de Vintimille, Comte du Luc, auprès des Ligues Suisses (1708-1715) et du Saint-Empire (1715-1717). By HENRY MERCIER. (Paris, La Bourdonnais, 1939, pp. 298, 45 fr.) Debts, dinners, and diplomacy, in about this order of importance, principally concerned the Comte du Luc during his nine ambassadorial years. Some relief, nevertheless, was afforded by two kidnapings, *de par le roi,* and one physical assault upon diplomatic immunity, all of which violated international comity, flattered the vanity of the ambassador, and enhanced the prestige of *le grand monarque.* Beyond a bullying wit, confidently paraded in letters to Torcy and Pontchartrain, a Gestapo-like efficiency in engineering abductions, and a fine, soldierly capacity for purple rages, it is difficult to discern the diplomatic qualifications of the Comte du Luc. His missions and the accounts of them herein presented are a confused mélange of the important and the unimportant, of Swiss cantonal politics and the international balance of power, of solemn dignities and financial trivialities, of affairs of state and personal matters. Despite a considerable documentation, referring chiefly to material in the Paris archives, and an appendix containing six brief speeches and letters, the book is not impressive as a work of scholarship, nor as a narrative is it so organized and presented as to constitute a clear exposition. No doubt French diplomatic representation among the seventeenth century Swiss cantons was, as the author contends, very important, but this book is not an effective demonstration thereof. Historical knowledge has not been greatly enriched by this account of Du Luc's participation at the Congress of Baden (1714) or by the relation of his inconsequential and financially depressing mission to Vienna. LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

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SHELBY T. MCCLOY. Flood Relief and Control in Eighteenth-Century France. *Jour. Mod. Hist.,* Mar.

OTTO KIRCHHEIMER. Decree Powers and Constitutional Law in France under the Third Republic. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.,* Dec.

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ERNST ED. BERGER. Camille Barrère. *Berl. Monatsh.*, Nov.
ANDRÉ GÉRAUD ("PERTINAX"). Gamelin. *For. Affairs*, Jan.

NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

Parlamentarismens utveckling i Norge efter 1905. By ARNE BJÖRNBERG. [Skrifter utgivna av statsvetenskapliga föreningen i Uppsala.] (Uppsala and Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B., 1939, pp. xv, 400.) Modern Norway was allowed a thirty-five-year period of independence, and that, as it turns out, is almost precisely the period covered by this study. The story is brought down to July, 1939, less than a year before the Nazi invasion forced the free parliament into a state of abeyance. Most of the volume is concerned with the Norwegian cabinet as an institution, attention being concentrated on the formation and the fall of the successive ministries, with intermittent digressions and a good closing essay on significant features of Norwegian parliamentarism in general. There are some useful tables on the periods and the personnel of the successive ministries and on the social background and political affiliations of the storting's membership throughout this period. The exposition is uncommonly clear and is well grounded on a broad foundation of sources. The proportions are generally good. The judgments passed—and they are not numerous—are apt to be timidly expressed. The tone of the work is consistently objective; for this the author deserves full credit, but it can be noted that he enjoyed certain advantages. First, the several party histories of recent years, by Worm-Müller, Gjerløw, Koht, *et al.*, tend to cancel out on partisanship. Second, the author, as a Swede, could enjoy the calmness of an "outsider". His work takes its place in a succession of studies on parliamentarism—chiefly on the Swedish case, but there have appeared studies also on the Finnish, Swiss, and French examples—which have been coming over a number of years from the seminar in political science of Axel Brusewitz at Uppsala.

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MARGRETE SPRENGHEST. Spring in Denmark 1940: A Personal Narrative. *Am. Scand. Rev.*, Dec.
EDVARD HAMBRO. Fact and Fiction in the Norwegian War. *Ibid.*

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

Don Juan d'Austria und die Schlacht bei Lepanto. By FELIX HARTLAUB. [Schriften der kriegsgeschichtlichen Abteilung im historischen Seminar der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Berlin.] (Berlin, Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1940, pp. 186, 8 M.) This is a creditable piece of work for a man who has had access only to

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the standard printed authorities. There is nothing new in it, but the author makes it abundantly clear how Don John's previous experiences with the Granadan Moriscos marked him out as the man to lead the Christian fleet and how his personality inspired the divergent elements of which that fleet was composed to unite, if only temporarily, to win an epoch-making victory. A final chapter describes the setting of the victor's star and the tragic anticlimax of his last two inglorious years as his half-brother's representative in the Netherlands. Lepanto had been a triumph so dramatic and complete that it was impossible for the victor to add anything more. "Don Juan blieb ein Gefangener seines Sieges und konnte nicht in seine Eigenständigkeit zurückkehren." References are given for all important facts, but when one looks them up, one does not always find that they fully support the statements in the text. One feels throughout that it is the psychological rather than the strictly historical side of the story of his hero's career that primarily interests Dr. Hartlaub. And one instinctively wonders, as one inevitably does whenever one reads any German historical monograph that has been published since September, 1939, what the inner feelings of the author are in regard to the present crisis. ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

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SELMA STERN-TÄUBLER. The Jew in the Transition from Ghetto to Emancipation. *Historia Judaica*, Oct.

PETER R. ROHDEN. Metternichs Kampf um Europa. *Neue Rundschau*, June.

EUGEN WOHLHAUPTER. Nikolaus Falck und die historische Rechtsschule. *Hist. Jahrb.*, LIX, nos. 3-4.

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Leonhard Haas. Die Schweiz und die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika: Ein geschichtlicher Rückblick. *Ibid.*

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Italy

Gaudens Megaro

Italy. By C. Pellizzi, Professor of Italian at London University. With a Foreword by H. E. Alberto de' Stefani. [Ambassadors at Large, Studies in the Foreign Policies of the Leading Powers, General Editor, E. H. Carr.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1939, pp. xii, 223, $2.00.) Forming part of a series which aims "to give an opportunity for qualified spokesmen of the principal nations to describe, for the benefit of the English reader, the policy and outlook of their respective countries in relation to the rest of the world", this volume presents a well-written pro-fascist outline of, and apologia for, the principal domestic and foreign policies of fascist Italy. It is scarcely necessary to say that it should be used with extreme caution. Of special interest is the treatment of Italy as a "have-not" or "proletarian" power.

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

Japan's Emergence as a Modern State: Political and Economic Problems of the Meiji Period. By E. HERBERT NORMAN. [Institute of Pacific Relations Inquiry Series.] (New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940, pp. xvi, 254, $2.00.) This important contribution to an understanding of Japan's rapid transformation from a secluded feudal state to a modern world power is one of the most significant volumes in the Institute of Pacific Relations Inquiry Series. Dr. Norman has presented in this book the best and fullest account in a Western language of the political and economic developments in the decades between the Restoration of 1867-68 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. His contribution lies not so much in setting forth the results of original research as in creating out of a mass of factual data drawn for the most part from widely scattered secondary sources a vivid delineation of the complexity of trends and forces which led to Japan's emergence as a modern state. Based in greater part upon Japanese and in lesser part upon Western sources, the book is provided with an exceptionally full bibliography of the works consulted.

Japan in China. By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN. (London, Duckworth, 1940, pp. 143, 6*s.*) Daily events abroad give confirmation to Mr. Chamberlin's statement, in this book, that the European war is to determine whether or not the map of East Asia will be redrawn. Hence he refuses to commit himself on the outcome of the present Sino-Japanese struggle. He adheres strictly to tracing that struggle from its commencement to the fall of 1939 and does an excellent job. His combination of impartiality and caution produces a truthful if drab picture of the Far East at war. Few matters of importance have escaped Chamberlin's attention, and he has taken special note of the timing of Japanese aggression with events in Europe. The entrance of Japanese troops into French Indo-China must, therefore, have occasioned the *Monitor* correspondent little surprise, coming, as it did, on the heels of France's collapse. Concerning America's position

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in the Orient the author recommends no definite policy. He does accuse those favoring sanctions against Japan of being "lacking in a sense of elementary psychology". Strong sanctions, he feels, would most probably provoke swift attacks on the Dutch Indies, Indo-China, Malaya, the Philippines, and even the United States. But war between Japan and this nation he thinks unlikely for two major reasons: there is little articulate sentiment in America advocating war; and American policy in the Orient has usually followed that of Britain, which, at the time Chamberlin wrote, was in no position to oppose Japan. Britain has now, however, drawn the United States so close to her that Japan formally allied with Germany and Italy on September 27, the day following the embargo on iron and steel scrap. The ultimate result of these developments only the future will reveal, but it is obvious that affairs in Europe are, as Chamberlin insists, a vital factor in Far Eastern as well as in American history.

FREDERICK H. REINSTEIN.

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CHARLES C. STELLE. American Trade in Opium to China, prior to 1820. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Dec.

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A. MUKAI. The Development and Character of the Movement advocating an Invasion of China in the Latter Part of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867) [in Japanese]. *Shirin*, Oct.

THOMAS LAFARGUE. Some Early Chinese Visitors to the United States. *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, Oct.-Nov.

ALEX LADENSON. The Background of the Hawaiian-Japanese Labor Convention of 1886. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Dec.

CH'ENG, MING-CHOU. The Case of the Ching-shan Diary [in Chinese]. *Yenching Jour. Chinese Stud.*, June.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

The Coming of the Scot. By JOHN H. FINLEY. (New York, Scribner's, 1940, pp. vi, 186, $2.00.) Although they do not add greatly to the known history of the Scot in America, Dr. Finley's lectures, delivered on the Watson Foundation at the University of Edinburgh in 1929, combine a comprehensive knowledge of the work of C. A. Hanna, H. J. Ford, G. F. Black, and Marcus L. Hansen with a sensitive appreciation of the Caledonian's part in the building of the United States. A half-humorous yet persistent belief that "those great leaders whom the Lord did not predestinate by Scottish blood, He did foreordain by Scottish teachers" (p. 77) runs through the chapters on "The Revolution and the Constitution", "'Manifest Destiny'", and "Religious Freedom". And a kindly man's concern for the perpetuation of Scottish "hard, high thinking" (p. 172) is the

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inspiration of the concluding chapter on "The Ultimate Americans". It would be well for the unity of the United States if the contribution of each of its different peoples to the growth of the nation could be interpreted by authors endowed with the generosity, sympathy, and understanding of the late John H. Finley. HELEN I. COWAN.

Political and Social Growth of the American People, 1492-1865. By HOMER CAREY HOCKETT, Professor of History at the Ohio State University. Third edition, new edition of *Political and Social Growth of the United States, 1492-1852.* (New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. xxi, 861, $3.25.)

Documents of American History. Edited by HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Columbia University. [Crofts American History Series, Dixon Ryan Fox, General Editor.] Second edition. (New York, Crofts, 1940, pp. xxii, 450, 642, $4.00.) "This edition constitutes not a revision but an extension of the original edition of *Documents of American History.* . . . The new material now included covers substantially the first two administrations of President F. D. Roosevelt. . . . I have sought to include most of the important legislation covering this opening phase of the New Deal, and to couple with legislative acts appropriate judicial interpretation. . . . There are, in addition, some treaties, party platforms, committee reports, and Presidential addresses."

Documents and Readings in American Government, National and State. By JOHN MABRY MATHEWS, Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois, and CLARENCE ARTHUR BERDAHL, Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois. Revised edition. (New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. xx, 862, $4.00.)

Uncle Sam's Pacific Islets. By DAVID N. LEFF. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1940, pp. x, 71, $1.00.)

The Negro and the Drama: The Direct and Indirect Contribution which the American Negro has made to Drama and the Legitimate Stage, with the Underlying Conditions Responsible. By FREDERICK W. BOND. (Washington, Associated Publishers, 1940, pp. x, 213, $2.00.)

Bibliography of Research Projects Reports: Check List of Historical Records Survey Publications. [W. P. A. Technical Series, Research and Records Projects Bibliography No. 4.] (Washington, W. P. A., Division of Professional and Service Projects, 1940, pp. 46, mimeographed.) "This is an inclusive list of the publications as of July 15, 1940, of the Historical Records Survey Projects, including the issues of the Survey of Federal Archives in the States and the Inventory of American Imprints."

Norwegian-American Studies and Records. Volume XI. (Northfield, Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1940, pp. vii, 183, $2.00.) This volume contains a variety of essays. Norwegian literary interest is reflected in an article on an Ibsen controversy published in *Norden,* a Norwegian-American newspaper, during 1880 and in two articles pertaining to Rølvaag. Carlton C. Qualey edits and translates a number of letters written by Jørgen Gjerdrum, a Norwegian liberal, who visited the United States during 1874 and 1875. These letters, published in a Christiania newspaper, are a valuable addition to an already rich literature of impressions of America by distinguished foreign visitors. E. Biddle Heg presents interesting material from a diary and letters of a Civil War physician, Stephen O. Himoe. Henry O. Evjen may be forgiven for his zeal in trying to make the Illinois State University at Springfield impressive as he has ably searched for "notables" to attach to that Lutheran institution which was defunct

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long before it closed its doors in 1868. Arthur Peterson's "The Introduction of the Domesticated Reindeer into Alaska" is a short and interesting account, but Ingrid Gaustad Semmingsen's article, "Norwegian Emigration to America during the Nineteenth Century", makes no important contribution. Jacob Hodnefield continues his valuable bibliographical work with "Some Recent Publications relating to Norwegian-American History, VII", while H. F. Swansen is puzzled by both the rise and the demise of "A Pioneer Church Library". Mr. Swansen is seemingly unfamiliar with the European counterpart, the parish library, its rise and decline. In spite of some shortcomings and uneven quality of contributions Dean Theodore C. Blegen, editor of the *Norwegian-American Studies and Records,* has succeeded in producing an annual which in historical scholarship ranks with the best publications of our state historical societies.

FRITIOF ANDER.

The Land Grant College Movement. By FREDERICK B. MUMFORD. [Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 419.] (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1940, pp. 140.) This experiment station bulletin by an emeritus agricultural college professor and administrator is based upon his own half century of experiences and observations and upon certain publications of the Department of Agriculture, the Office of Education, and the Association of Land-Grant Colleges. The writer shows no familiarity with the publications of the Agricultural History Society or with recent studies in public administration. His main interest, however, is not with history or governmental relations; he aims rather to set forth "the underlying philosophy of the colleges of agriculture and their influence upon the social, intellectual and economic life of rural people and the public generally". Such an emphasis makes the title too inclusive, as the other co-ordinate lines of land-grant education are given merely incidental attention. Topical organization involves no little repetition and perhaps contributes to contradictory statements—such as the acceptance of President W. O. Thompson's assertion that the movement "sprang, not from the educational philosophers or the professional teachers, but from the rank and file of the people themselves" and the later admission of the oft-verified fact that the farmers as a class "were more than skeptical of higher education". For most readers of the bulletin the author's argument for the academic standing and intellectual and social values of technological education will be as superfluously conclusive as the contention of Irving's antiquarian pastor that the Christmas festival should be observed joyously. Students of the history of land-grant education will be chiefly interested in the bulletin as a reflection of the views and attitudes of an active participant during the formative years.

EARLE D. ROSS.

Why Farmers are Poor: The Agricultural Crisis in the United States. By ANNA ROCHESTER. (New York, International Publishers, 1940, pp. 317, $2.75.) Any person who wishes to understand the farm problem in the United States should not fail to consult this important book. Employing a wealth of carefully documented material, much of which is statistical in character, the author of this volume shows conclusively that the financial ills besetting the American farmer are caused primarily by the workings of a capitalist economy of which agriculture is a part. After indicating the extent to which poverty haunts the countryside and characterizes agriculture as a whole, she devotes special chapters to the problem of land and rent, to farm wageworkers, to the different phases of crisis among small farms and those commercial in type, and to questions of credit, prices, and markets. She makes it abundantly clear that most of the nation's farmers are victimized by the small-scale competitive character of their

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enterprise, their lack of control over prices either for what they have to sell or to buy, the high cost of credit and transportation, loss of markets, high rents and taxes, and above all by disparity of income. In a concluding chapter, "Must Farmers be Poor", she indicates what farmers have wanted, what they have won, and the problems yet to be solved. Here she briefly summarizes the outstanding efforts made by the farmers of this country during the last 150 years to right their wrongs and reviews the measures taken by the national government to solve, or at least alleviate, the farm dilemma. Higher prices for farm commodities, income, the curbing of monopoly, better distribution of the national income, an increase in consumers' mass purchasing power, elimination of unequable taxation, tenancy, and the reduction of mortgage debts are, in the author's opinion, the problems that lie ahead. Approximately a dozen appendixes covering the chief documentary sources add to the value of the book.

HARRY J. CARMAN.

War Propaganda and the United States. By HAROLD LAVINE and JAMES WECHSLER. [Published for the Institute for Propaganda Analysis.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940, pp. x, 363, $2.75.) The authors have prepared a critical analysis of the competing and rival propaganda of our day under the formula that "propaganda is a method utilized for influencing the conduct of others on behalf of predetermined ends". In the role of technical analysts they discuss the propagandists' influence on the foreign policy of the United States during the first eight months of World War II. The study opens with a good short summary of the techniques employed by the belligerent powers in World War I and continues with a mass of data illustrating the "word factories" operated by both the "professional supporters of Anglo-American 'cooperation'" and the "professional believers in Albion's perfidy". The "propaganda of pathos" of American pro-Ally relief societies is mirrored against the "propaganda of hatred" of native fascist groups. The authors devote the greater portion of the book to pro-British propaganda undoubtedly on the ground that its scope and techniques are less familiar to American students than opposing Nazi propaganda and because they believe it is none the less "propaganda" even if American sentiment is sympathetic with the British cause. The authors emphasize the American origins of both Allied and fascist propaganda, even including President Roosevelt's exposition of our stake in the Allied struggle. That the volume was prepared in great haste may be seen in its somewhat loose organization. This book appeared at a period (June, 1940) when its timeliness, regardless of its shortcomings, could not be questioned. At some future date it will be necessary for the historian to analyze in a cool and critical study what part the propaganda of the belligerents—as distinct from other factors—played in formulating American foreign policy during the stressful period covered in this volume.

BELLE ZELLER.

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Earle D. Ross. A Travelogue of 1849. *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,* Dec.

New England and Middle Colonies and States

Bronson Alcott, Teacher. By Dorothy McCuskey. (New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. xiii, 217, $2.50.) This is a competent, detailed story of an important phase of Bronson Alcott's life, namely, his career as a teacher and educator. Known to students of literature as the friend of Emerson and as the wistful, quixotic philosopher of the New England transcendentalists, he appears in this volume as an experimenter in the classroom, as the sponsor of new methods of pedagogy, and as the solicitous guide of little children. Miss McCuskey tells the story of his study, of his reading, of his techniques, of his achievements, and of the opposition which his reforms encountered; she concludes with an answer to the natural question concerning Alcott's connection with the modern "progressives". "Without Bronson Alcott as a catalytic agent", she says, "the progressives would not have had a base from which to start." Stanley T. Williams.

Margaret Fuller, Whetstone of Genius. By Mason Wade. (New York, Viking Press, 1940, pp. xvi, 304, $3.50.) In this readable biography Mr. Wade has carried still further the efforts of recent students of American literary history to rescue Margaret Fuller from the misty veil of legend. By avoiding the over-simplified application of Freudian clichés he has, without essentially altering the analysis of Katharine Anthony, improved on it. Mr. Wade's pages also testify to his success in judiciously evaluating the sentimental and idealized portraits of Margaret Fuller's friends and the hostile attacks of her critics. He has gone further than his predecessors in explaining, in terms of Margaret Fuller's marriage and motherhood, the transition from an unhappy and somewhat narrow preoccupation with self-culture and feminism to a richer emotional satisfaction in the love of an Italian revolutionist and in active participation in the struggles of Mazzini and his fellows for national freedom and liberalism. Even so he has not quite succeeded in giving to Margaret Fuller the warmth, life, and rich but subtle tones that characterize the briefer treatment of her by Van Wyck Brooks in *The Flowering of New England.* Mr. Wade has properly, in the manner of Parrington, endeavored to treat Margaret Fuller as a social barometer of the intellectual and social currents of her time. Her most important book, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century,* the first well-considered and formal American treatment of feminism, is, however, appreciated without being adequately related to the larger movement of which it was a part. In somewhat the same way Mr. Wade pays tribute to Margaret Fuller's pioneer work as a critic, a writer on aesthetics, and a reporter of the great forces which stirred mid-century Europe without getting very far beneath the surface of these forces.

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These shortcomings, together with an insufficient utilization of all the relevant sources, prevent the book from being a definitive biography. It supersedes, nevertheless, its predecessors. MERLE CURTI.

The Amherst Diary of William Otis Carr, 1853-1857. Edited with an Introduction by FRANK O. SPINNEY. (New Haven, privately printed, 61 Edgewood Avenue, 1940, pp. x, 30, $1.35.)

John White Geary, Soldier-Statesman, 1819-1873. By HARRY MARLIN TINKCOM. [Pennsylvania Lives.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940, pp. vi, 155, $1.75.) This initial volume of a new series—Pennsylvania Lives—is an acceptable routine biography of a secondary character who served in the Mexican War, filled important civil offices in the West, won distinction as a brigade and division commander during the Civil War, and closed his career as governor of his native state. The author gives a brief account of Geary's early life and Mexican War service. About one third of the space is devoted to Geary's services as postmaster and mayor of San Francisco and as governor of "bleeding" Kansas in the ante-bellum decade of compromise and appeasement. The Civil War period is told briefly, and there are two final chapters on Geary's service as governor of Pennsylvania. The account of Geary's career is told with little attempt to relate his activities to contemporary events. For this reason it is difficult to determine the effect and value of his efforts or much of his attitude toward the burning problems of the day. Little use seems to have been made of newspapers or of relevant manuscript materials. Geary as a person seldom emerges, perhaps because there is scant personal material available. In spite of its limitations, however, this little book is a worthwhile contribution to the already large collection of Americana of the period. It is the service and loyalty of such secondary characters as Geary that have made possible the larger and more important contributions of a Grant or a Lee. The book is well bound and well printed and is illustrated with a wartime portrait of Geary. There is a bibliographical note and an index. THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

How Maine viewed the War, 1914-1917. By EDWIN COSTRELL. [The Maine Bulletin.] (Orono, University Press, 1940, pp. v, 101, 50 cents.) Studies of the currents of opinion in individual states are sometimes of considerable importance. Maine, because of its location and because of the large number of Canadians living there, would seem to represent an ideal state for such an analysis. In this particular study, however, little space is given to these geographic and ethnographic peculiarities. More attention should have been devoted to the unique aspects of the problem. The principal difficulty lies in Mr. Costrell's failure to differentiate between the opinions of Maine's newspaper editors and the opinions of the rank and file of Maine's citizens. Consider, for instance, the concluding sentence in the study: "Whatever the rest of the nation may have thought, Maine wanted war fervently when war came." The evidence presented does not substantiate this statement. The fact which it does establish is that the newspaper editors of Maine "wanted war fervently". In view of the author's comment about the suppression of opinion in one newspaper (p. 5), it is quite surprising that he should accept newspaper interpretations of opinion to this extent. Mr. Costrell's style and documentation are commendable. The charts are particularly worth while. H. C. PETERSON.

New York: A Guide to the Empire State. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of New York. [American Guide Series.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. xxxi, 782, $3.00.)

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Present State of Virginia, and the College. By HENRY HARTWELL, JAMES BLAIR, and EDWARD CHILTON. Edited, with an Introduction, by HUNTER DICKINSON FARISH. [Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies, No. 1.] (Williamsburg, Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, sales agent Princeton University Press, 1940, pp. lxxiii, 105, $2.75.) One of the more hopeful of recent moves for aid in the publication of historical works is marked by the appearance of this initial volume of the Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies. The purpose of the series is to provide a more complete record of eighteenth century Williamsburg and of the society of which it was a focal point. That the choice of subjects will be determined by a broad interpretation of what is appropriate to this purpose is indicated by the first selection. For there are few contemporary accounts of early Virginia so valuable as is the report by Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton submitted to the board of trade in 1697 as "An Account of the Present State and Government of Virginia". Reflecting the political differences existing among the colonists and the purposes of the newly created board of trade, it throws a penetrating light on a significant chapter in our history. It was not printed until 1727 and then apparently, as is suggested by the change in title and the addition of the college's charter, in the interest of the college, of which Blair was the first president. It is now for the first time reprinted in its entirety, and introductory essays present pertinent historical, biographical, and bibliographical data. In making this important document more readily accessible to students Dr. Farish and his colleagues have rendered a valuable service to all those whose interests include early America. WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN.

A History of the Germania Club. By DIETER CUNZ. (Baltimore, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, 1940, pp. 27.)

The Stewardship of Don Esteban Miró, 1782-1792: A Study of Louisiana based Largely on the Documents in New Orleans. By CAROLINE MAUDE BURSON, Department of Romance Languages, Newcomb College, Tulane University. (New Orleans, privately printed, 1940, pp. ix, 327, $3.00.) Historians of Louisiana have given scant attention to Esteban Miró, doubtless in part because as governor he was sandwiched between the dashing Bernardo de Gálvez and the tempestuous Baron de Carondelet. Dr. Burson measurably rectifies this neglect by making him the central figure in her chronicle of a decade of provincial

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history. Without imputing heroic stature to Miró, she credits him with a devotion to duty and an integrity in office which the key word in the title is intended to epitomize. In developing this theme of stewardship the author takes up such matters as colonization, Indian alliances, and intrigue with the western Americans, whereby Miró sought to build Louisiana into a stronger buffer against the encroachments of the United States. This account is satisfactorily given but is less of a contribution to knowledge than the discussion of the domestic affairs of the province, where Miró was also striving to erect a stouter barrier. To have the facts of Miró's career marshaled in a single volume is a convenience. Since the work is frankly offered as based on the New Orleans documents, it is only partially in order to comment that use of materials in the Spanish archives would have made possible a less provisional analysis. Several additional published works could have been used to advantage. These include a number of articles in the *Hispanic American Historical Review,* others in *New Spain and the Anglo-American West,* Whitaker's discussion of McGillivray, Kinnaird's of Bowles, Pickett's *Alabama,* and Jacobs's *Tarnished Warrior.* These omissions constitute a defect, but they do not vitiate this study of Miró's governorship, which in most respects is commendably done.

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY.

Jeffersonian Democracy in South Carolina. By JOHN HAROLD WOLFE, Professor of History, Appalachian State Teachers College. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1940, pp. xi, 308, cloth $2.50, paper $1.25.) Professor Wolfe's interpretation of the South Carolina political scene during the quarter century after Washington's first inauguration differs considerably from that which is generally accepted, "that the Federalists dominated South Carolina politics before 1800 and continued to be extremely influential thereafter". In 1796 the Republicans first won the electoral votes of the state, and, while some ground was lost during John Adams's administration, they scored another victory in the hard-fought campaign of 1800. Throughout the administrations of Jefferson and Madison, through embargo, nonintercourse, the effects of Macon Bill Number 2, and the War of 1812, the Republicans were never dislodged from the saddle. When the Federalists in 1816 nominated their last candidate for the presidency, their party "was not dead in South Carolina; but its members had already come to realize that they had little in common with the Federalists in other sections of the country". A doctoral dissertation, this work is based upon a painstaking study of the sources, and the author has performed his task so well that it will hardly need to be done again. It would have been better rounded, however, had he not limited himself so strictly to politics and had he shown throughout the constant interplay of social and economic conditions upon political developments. A brief description of the geography of the area and of "The Inhabitants and their Culture", at the beginning of the book, is merely perfunctory—something to be finished as quickly as possible and then forgotten. Thereafter one political campaign and movement after another is described, but only rarely is social and economic flesh added to the political skeleton. To have made this latter contribution, however, would have been practically to have written a history of South Carolina during the period—something which the writer never intended to do.

C. C. CRITTENDEN.

The Secession Movement in North Carolina. By JOSEPH CARLYLE SITTERSON, Instructor in History, University of North Carolina. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press,

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1939, pp. vii, 285, $3.00.) Mr. Sitterson begins his study with a promising analysis of what he terms the "socio-economic sectionalism" of ante-bellum North Carolina. He follows this with a survey of state rights sentiment in the state prior to 1847 and subsequently introduces a valuable chapter descriptive of "Economic and Social Aspects of Southern Rights Sentiment". In the remaining three fourths of his book he presents a clearly phrased, well-organized, and carefully documented narrative of at least the outward manifestations of a conflict of forces, extending from 1847 to 1861, which brought North Carolina, though much less wholeheartedly than states of the Lower South, to secession and civil war. He analyzes election returns from time to time in terms of sections within the state and in relation to the distribution of slave population, but he is chary of making generalizations and in attempting to draw conclusions. He quotes frequently and effectively from contemporary materials, but he leaves it to the reader to accept these statements at their face value or to speculate regarding their conscious or unconscious motivation. The reviewer would have liked to read a bolder attempt to analyze the complexity of influences which caused North Carolinians to champion the Union or to seek its dissolution. He would have liked to know Mr. Sitterson's conclusions as to *why* great planters, small landowners, tenant farmers, merchants, artisans, industrialists, mountaineers, and other population groups came at last to support disunion or, more exactly, to vote for delegates to a convention which, in 1861, unanimously declared the union "between the State of North Carolina and the other States" to be dissolved. But to wish that there had been a bolder attempt at interpretation in Mr. Sitterson's monograph is not to deny its excellence as a narrative of events. PHILIP M. HAMER.

A Southern Bibliography: Historical Fiction, 1929-1938. Compiled by JANET MARGARET AGNEW. [University Bulletin, the Library School Bibliographical Series, No. 2.] (University, Louisiana State University, 1940, pp. 80, 75 cents.) A companion to *A Southern Bibliography: Fiction, 1929-1938.*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

The First Michigan Frontier. By CALVIN GOODRICH. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1940, pp. viii, 344, $2.50.) This is a cross between old-fashioned, disjointed local history and newfangled popular history. There is little continuity between the chapters, though each has its own unity. Here are accounts of fur-bearing animals, of terrain, of trade, of agriculture, of canoe construction and travel, of Indian ceremonies, of firearms, of military uniforms, of baptisms, marriages, and deaths, of the size of families and of garrison accounts, and of many individuals, more or less picturesque. But for all its discursiveness, the book gravitates round one point in time and place—Detroit in 1763. The second chapter gives a picture of Detroit when Pontiac besieged it, the twelfth discusses the siege, and the fifteenth gives a sketch of Pontiac. The writing is lively but sometimes careless. The author uses the common but unpardonable "different than", and he occasionally employs the wrong word. He refers to the *commissary* (a person!) being filled, when he means *commissariat*, and he says that some of the wilderness posts "faded away into *forgetfulness*". A page or two of footnotes at the end of each chapter and half a dozen appendixes at the end of the volume give an appearance of scholarship that is greater than the reality. The author has queer notions about the feudalism and foggy ones about the paper currency of New France. He wrongly explains the name "Brown Bess", which was applied to the flintlock musket. He speaks of Peter *Pound* without suspecting that he has again encountered the inimitable Pond, and he discourses confidently about General Braddock and Henry Hamilton in complete ignorance of Stanley Pargellis's important article on the former and Nelson Vance Russell's on the latter. On the whole, however, the book contains errors which are no more numerous or serious than may be expected in a work of this kind.

A. L. BURT.

The Maumee Valley through Fifty Years, 1763-1813. Illustrated by Some Documents in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan and issued for the Maumee Valley International Historical Convention. [Bulletin No. XXXIII of the William L. Clements Library, the University of Michigan.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1940, pp. [19].)

The Ohio Guide. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Ohio. [American Guide Series.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. xxxi, 634, $2.75.)

Polish Pioneers of California. By MIECISLAUS HAIMAN. (Chicago, Polish R. C. Union of America, 1940, pp. 83, 75 cents, paper 50 cents.) "The purpose of the following paper is to open the pioneer trail through California archives for future historians of the Polish immigration to the State, rather than to give a full and exact account of its beginnings. Owing to distance the author was unable to make a research in local libraries. This will explain, and to some extent, excuse his inaccuracies and errors."

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Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the Year 1939. (Springfield, Illinois State Historical Society, 1940, pp. ix, 179.) This volume includes the following papers: "The Compensations of an Historian", by H. Gary Hudson; "Floating Namesakes of the Sucker State: Some Upper Mississippi Steamboats", by William J. Petersen; "Frances Willard as an Illinois Teacher", by Mary Earhart Dillon; "The United Brethren Church in Illinois", by Lynn W. Turner; "Illinois and her Indians", by Grant Foreman; "The Hanks Family in Macon County, Illinois, 1828-1939: A Biographical Directory", by Edwin David Davis.

Elkanah and Mary Walker, Pioneers among the Spokanes. By CLIFFORD MERRILL DRURY. (Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1940, pp. 283, $3.00.) This is the third and last volume of the author's series on the Oregon mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The two earlier volumes dealt with Henry H. Spalding and Dr. Marcus Whitman, both of whom are well known to many readers, while the chief characters in this study have remained, until recently, comparatively obscure. The Walkers went to Oregon in 1838, two years after the Whitman-Spalding group, and the following year established the station at Tshimakain, where they remained for nearly nine years. The book has been written largely from manuscript sources, of which the most important is the diary of Mrs. Walker. This she began in 1835 and kept more or less regularly for over fifty years. It is a very human and revealing document from which numerous excerpts are given. Other important sources used are the journal kept by Mr. Walker during their residence at Tshimakain and many personal letters. This is an interesting book clearly depicting the privations and dangers of missionary life on that remote frontier and the courage and hardihood with which they were met by these devoted pioneers. Here, too, are revealed the petty jealousies, bickerings, and misunderstandings so likely to arise when the members of a small group, even of Christian missionaries, must live in such close contact with one another. EDWARD EVERETT DALE.

Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest. By JOSEPH G. MCCOY. Edited by RALPH P. BIEBER, Associate Professor of History, Washington University, St. Louis. [The Southwest Historical Series.] (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1940, pp. 435, $6.00.) McCoy's volume, first issued in 1874, ranks as a rare and firsthand account of the cattle trade of the Southwest. The reprinting of the work in 1932 without editorial aids induced the editor and publisher of the present series to include in it another reprint of this book. McCoy's direct observation of the Texas drives and his participation in the spread of the herds over the Western ranges and in the shipments to markets afford moving scenes of cowboys and trails, cattlemen and cow towns, as well as of the transportation to the rising meat-packing industries at Kansas City and Chicago. McCoy will always stand as a faithful portrayer of a type of frontier now gone. An introduction of about fifty pages by Professor Bieber gives a historical survey of the range cattle industry. This sketch, abundantly documented from letters, newspapers, official records, and manuscripts, affords a sure footing for McCoy's reprinted narrative. Seven of the original illustrations are reproduced, but for the reviewer more of the flavor of the old book would have been retained by reproducing a larger number. The final twenty pages of the introduction might have served better as footnote aids to the text. The last six chapters would seem entitled to footnoting as ample as that accorded to chapters I to XIV. The careful accounts of the Drover's Cottage and of Abilene might have yielded some editorial space to some of the captains of the range industry. The book takes its place, however, as the authoritative reprint of the McCoy history. The editor's

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work, built up over many years, is painstaking and sound. Paper and print are pleasing to the eye. No index appears for the volume, but one is promised for the series. LOUIS PELZER.

History of University of Oregon. By HENRY D. SHELDON. (Portland, Binfords and Mort, 1940, pp. 288, $2.50.) This little volume is not just another rambling chronicle of student pranks, athletic rivalries, and obituaries of kindly old professors. Dean Sheldon tells a straightforward story of the persistent—though sometimes misdirected—efforts of public-minded citizens of Oregon to maintain a respectable institution of learning and of their struggles with frontier poverty, pressure groups, economic upsets, and general ignorance. The emphasis is largely on externals such as the perennial battle for legislative appropriations, the erection of buildings, and successive administrative and curricular reorganizations. Of special interest here are the encounters of the university authorities with that Oregon institution, the initiative and referendum, and the light they shed on the question of direct popular control over higher education. In general, from the time the university almost went under the sheriff's hammer to the flush days of Carnegie pensions, "big time" athletics, and state-wide surveys, its history was a typical success story—at any rate until 1930. Occasionally the author ventures to evaluate critically and with insight the inner life and intellectual contributions of the school. He has drawn his information from state documents, faculty minutes and presidents' reports, newspaper files, and various unpublished studies. The book suffers somewhat from careless writing and hasty proofreading. GEORGE P. SCHMIDT.

Ballads and Songs collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society. Edited by H. M. BELDEN, Professor Emeritus of English. [The University of Missouri Studies.] (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1940, pp. xviii, 530, $1.25.) Collection of the material printed in this volume began in 1903 and covers all sections, though not all counties, of the state. The work joins the growing body of state collections—Maine, Virginia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Kentucky, Vermont, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana. Its range of content is unusually wide. The most serious blemish in the work is the disregard, admitted but not justified by the editor, of the musical element now generally recognized to be quite as important as the speech element in the field. For upward of a thousand items only about seventy tunes are given, and these are amateur notations of doubtful value. No phonographic recordings seem to have been used in spite of the fact that equipment and techniques were available throughout the whole period of collection and editing. Another serious blemish is omission (also admitted but not justified) of material from Negro and other minority groups and neglect of the vast body of material below the rather high level of respectability set for the work. The editor's belief, therefore, that when Vance Randolph's collection is published "the field of folksong in Missouri will have been pretty thoroly covered" would seem to be unjustified. What we need now in state (and in area and regional) collections is less selection on the basis of literary and folklore interest and more unbiased cross-sectioning of oral tradition as a vital culture-historical function. Mention of this need might seem irrelevant here. But it is to the credit of the Missouri Society and of the able editor that their work points more clearly than do most state collections the way to the realization of more comprehensive studies in the future. CHARLES SEEGER.

Golden Gate: The Story of San Francisco Harbor. By FELIX RIESENBERG, JR. (New York, Knopf, 1940, pp. 347, xii, $3.50.) To the writing of this book the author came armed with some years' experience as port reporter, with an affinity for

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salt water and the men who make their living by it, and with a conviction that the harbor of good St. Francis is the most dramatic of the world's ports. The successive developments on the San Francisco waterfront, from the discovery in 1769 to "bloody Thursday" of July, 1934, present the enthusiastic writer with material for a narrative well geared to the popular taste. *Golden Gate* is just such a book, well written, dramatic, rapid in its action. On the earlier phases of Spanish occupation, hide droghers, Argonauts, and clipper ships, Mr. Riesenberg is a bit perfunctory, and what he has to say is familiar. It is for his later chapters, such as those on the "Red Record" of maltreatment of seamen on the grain ships, on the rise of the Dollar and Matson lines, and on recent labor conflicts, that historians will be more indebted to him. In its general contours the work is correct, but in many matters of lesser detail it is not to be relied upon. This difficulty extends to the bibliography, where the author, in attempting to box his historical compass, has made a number of egregious errors.

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY.

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

J. W. Caughey

The Negro in Brazil. By Arthur Ramos. Translated from the Portuguese by Richard Pattee. (Washington, Associated Publishers, 1939, pp. xx, 203, $2.15.) This little book will prove an important corrective to American scholars interested in the history not merely of Brazil but of the Americas. For more than any other volume available in English, it suggests the importance of the Negro in the history of America as a whole. It will become necessary in time to rewrite American history so as to credit the Negro race with its proper role in the colonization of both the North and South American continents. The discovery, exploration, and colonization of the Americas, instead of being described as merely a European adventure, should be viewed as the joint effort of both Europe and Africa, for the role of the Negro was essentially that of an immigrant in spite of the fact that he was an involuntary one. The present volume makes it clear that the Negro has contributed to every phase of Brazilian life and that in more than one aspect of Brazilian culture he has been pre-eminent. The Negro has greatly influenced Brazilian music, painting, sculpture, and architecture; he has written some of the country's greatest national poetry and has played a role in the development of its science. Brazilian history is replete with the Negro's efforts as a soldier and patriot, and he has filled no unimportant place as a politician. Negro emancipation in Brazil was in no small degree the work of Negro leaders. In fact, the web of Brazilian life has been so fully entwined with the contribution of the Negro that it would not be possible to disentangle Negro influence from the other elements in Brazilian history. The present excellent study written for American readers and ably translated by Richard Pattee ought to be widely read. Frank Tannenbaum.

Historical Evolution of Hispanic America. By J. Fred Rippy, Professor of History, the University of Chicago. Second edition. (New York, Crofts, 1940, pp. xvii, 582, $3.75.) In this revision of his well-known text, published in 1932, Professor Rippy brings the story of Hispanic America down to date. Somewhat more attention is given to the social and cultural phases of the subject, and the reading lists have been revised.

Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies. By John Tate Lanning, Associate Professor of History in Duke University. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. ix, 149, $1.75.) This volume is far more significant than its size might suggest. It deals with the establishment of some twenty-three universities in the Spanish colonies, their organization and government, and the courses in philosophy and medicine taught therein. It also examines the efforts of Spain to safeguard public health in her New World dominions. No more important book

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on the Hispanic colonies has been produced in the United States in the last twenty years. The materials on which it is based are for the most part manuscripts preserved in the various archives of Spanish America—Latin manuscripts which only a scholar like Professor Lanning, thoroughly trained in the classics as well as in philosophy and political theory, can use to the best advantage. In view of the topics treated, the style of the volume is remarkably clear. This reviewer has observed only one obscure passage: lines 3-11 on page 39. The general conclusion of the work is that academic culture in the Spanish colonies was by no means so backward as has been commonly assumed. Professor Lanning characterizes his work as "preliminary essays" and promises a further contribution which will examine such topics as languages and literature (including Indian languages), general sciences, the reforms of Charles III, and the academic instruction received by the remarkable generation of 1810—the men who led the movement for independence from Spain and established the first national governments of Spanish America. Because of the growing enthusiasm in the United States for cultural relations with Latin America Professor Lanning's emphasis is most timely. J. FRED RIPPY.

Inflation and Revolution: Mexico's Experience of 1912-1917. By EDWIN WALTER KEMMERER. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1940, pp. xiv, 173, $2.50.) On the flyleaf of his little book Professor Kemmerer quotes with approval an old French proverb, "the guillotine follows the paper-money press". In Mexico, however, the process was reversed, and revolution was financed by, and led to, inflation. To students familiar with the history of the French assignats, our own Continental currency, or the financing of the World War the story will be a familiar one, that of the government exploiting the currency function for fiscal purposes. During 1913-14, under Huerta, the bank note currency was expanded to furnish the government with means of payment. From 1914 to 1917, under Carranza, direct issues of paper money were made. Issue followed issue, and in addition illegal and counterfeit money appeared. Depreciation soon set in; by 1916 prices of foodstuffs in Mexico City had risen as much as 2,000 per cent, while wages advanced only 250 per cent. Vain efforts were made to check depreciation or to explain high prices by other causes. In 1916 a new kind of paper money—infalsicables—was issued, and the old redeemed at ten to one. But the new money fell in value, and resort was finally had to direct barter. At this juncture paper money disappeared from circulation, and gold and silver money came back as if by magic. Although Professor Kemmerer describes a troubled period when many records were destroyed and others not compiled, he has constructed a clear, concise, and authoritative account of interesting attempts to finance government by means of the printing press. The book should contribute to a better understanding of the dangers of inflation in this country.

E. L. BOGART.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The next annual meeting of the Association will be held in Chicago on December 29, 30, and 31. The Program Committee invites those members of the Association who desire to present papers to submit them, or abstracts of them, before June 1. It is not intended to build the program around a theme or a group of themes selected in advance. Communications regarding the following fields and subjects should be addressed to the following members of the committee, respectively: ancient history—Jakob A. O. Larsen, University of Chicago; medieval history—Gaines Post, University of Wisconsin; modern European history—Donald C. McKay, Harvard University; English history—Frederick C. Dietz, University of Illinois; the Near East, the Far East, and Russia—Philip E. Mosely, Cornell University; Latin-American history—Lewis Hanke, Library of Congress; the interpretation of history, teachers' problems, and general historical themes—C. W. de Kiewiet, State University of Iowa; American history (colonial and United States)—Thomas C. Cochran, New York University, and Curtis P. Nettels, University of Wisconsin.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The annual business meeting of the Association was held on December 28 at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York. The Executive Secretary, in view of the approaching end of his term of office, gave a summary of the work of the Association during the eight years of his service.

Richard A. Newhall presented the following resolution:

Inasmuch as the National Association of Manufacturers, recently meeting in New York City, has announced the undertaking of a study of the public school textbooks in use throughout the country to discover which ones, if any, are prejudicial to our form of government, our society, or to the system of free enterprise,

The officers of the American Historical Association are hereby instructed to offer to the N.A.M. the co-operation of the American Historical Association in making this study and in deciding which textbooks are in fact prejudicial. They are further instructed to invite the officers of the Political Science Association and the Economics Association to offer similar co-operation.

If by any chance the N.A.M. should decline this co-operation, the officers of the A.H.A. are instructed to arrange for a study of the textbooks abovementioned, either in conjunction with the political scientists and economists, or by this Association alone, and the members of this Association, in any case, offer their individual and personal assistance in helping to make such study.

With an amendment to provide that the whole question be referred to the Executive Committee of the Council with power to act, the resolution was carried unanimously.

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Raymond J. Sontag presented a resolution for the establishment by the Council of a placement bureau under the auspices of the Association if, after investigation, the Council should find such a bureau feasible. The resolution was carried.

Howard K. Beale, chairman of the Committee on Nominations, presented the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:

Moved, That the Constitution and/or By-Laws should be so amended as to permit the sending out of the nominating ballot by April 1, and the requiring of its return by July 1; that this resolution should be regarded as notice for official action at next year's meeting, if such notice were required, and that the executive council should, insofar as it has the power, put this new rule into effect at once.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, 1940

The Executive Council of the Association held one meeting during the year, on December 26 in New York. The Executive Committee of the Council met three times during the year, on June 9, July 3, and November 3 in New York.

The most important business which faced the Executive Committee during the year past was that of receiving the Report of the Committee of Five and taking action upon its recommendations. It will be recalled that this Committee of Five was appointed by the Council at its meeting on December 30, 1939, to search for an Executive Secretary willing to establish himself in Washington. James P. Baxter, 3rd, chairman of the Committee of Five, submitted the report of the committee to the Executive Committee at its meeting on July 3, 1940. The essence of this report was that the Committee of Five unanimously recommended to the Executive Committee that Mr. Guy Stanton Ford be appointed to the combined offices of Executive Secretary, Editor of the Association, and Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review*, for a term of three years beginning September 1, 1941, at a salary of $5000 a year, and that Mr. Schuyler and Mr. Read be asked to continue in their present offices until such time as Mr. Ford could take over. Mr. Baxter reported that Mr. Ford would accept the appointment if it were made. The Executive Committee, after due deliberation, voted that the Report of the Committee of Five be transmitted to the voting members of the Council by mail, with the recommendation that the report be adopted.

Mr. Baxter further reported that Mr. Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress, had agreed to provide the Association with office space in the Library of Congress rent free. The Executive Committee voted to accept the offer with thanks and directed that the office of the Association in Washington should be moved to the Library of Congress as soon as feasible.

Subsequently a poll vote of the Council revealed a very substantial majority in favor of accepting the recommendations of the Committee of Five. Mr. Schuyler agreed to continue as Editor of the *American Historical*

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Review and Mr. Read as Executive Secretary until September 1, 1941. Mr. Ragatz, present Editor of the Association, agreed to continue in his position until the same date. The office of the Association in Washington was transferred to the Library of Congress on September 1, 1940.

All of the activities of the Association hereafter to be noted are in general charge of the Executive Secretary, under the immediate direction of the Executive Committee and subject to the general control of the Council.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. During the current year the *Review* has been edited by Robert Livingston Schuyler from the editorial offices at 535 West 114th Street, New York. The total cost of editing the *Review* amounted to $6699.35. The net cost of printing the *Review*, after deducting the contribution of the publishers to editorial expenses, the Association's share of profits of publication, etc., amounted to $3270.70, a decrease of $9.58 from the cost last year. The loss on the sale of the ten-year index, which was reported last year as $208.43, has been reduced by the sale during the year of forty-nine copies of the index at an aggregate price of $83.25. It will be noticed that the ten-year index is considerably short of paying for itself, although the actual editorial work on it was done in the offices of the *Review* without additional cost. It seems surprising that with over thirty-five hundred members in the Association, all of them receiving the *Review*, only 448 copies of the last ten-year index have so far been sold. The following passages are quoted from the report of the Managing Editor:

> Volume XLV of the *Review* (October, 1939-July, 1940) contained 1056 pages, including an annual index of 44 pages, as compared with 1070 pages in Volume XLIV. The total number of Articles, Notes and Suggestions, and Documents was 20, as against 22 in Volume XLIV. Volume XLV contains 256 reviews as against 272 in Volume XLIV and 516 notices as against 538, a total of reviews and notices of 772 as compared with 810 in Volume XLIV, which is a decrease of approximately 4.7 per cent. The total number of articles listed was 2479 as against 2557 in Volume XLIV, a decrease of approximately 3 per cent. These slight decreases all along the line are probably to be attributed to diminished historical output in Europe as a result of the war.
>
> During the period covered by this report 94 Articles, Notes and Suggestions, and Documents were submitted, as compared with 96 during the preceding 12 months. Of these 12 were accepted, 59 rejected, 2 withdrawn, and 21 returned because of uncertainty as to the future editorship of the *Review* with a statement that they would be considered if resubmitted later. Thirteen major articles were published, including the Presidential Address and an account of the Annual Meeting of the Association at Washington. Of these (exclusive of the account of the meeting) 6 were in the field of European history, 3 in American, and 3 in Anglo-American. There were 4 Notes and Suggestions, 2 in European and 2 in American history. There were 3 documentary contributions, 2 in European and 1 in American history.

SOCIAL EDUCATION. During the current year *Social Education* has been edited by Erling M. Hunt from the editorial offices, 204 Fayerweather Hall,

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Columbia University. The following passages are quoted from the report of the Managing Editor:

Since January 1, 1940, the majority of the members of the Executive Board of *Social Education* has been appointed by the National Council for the Social Studies. That transfer of control of editorial policy has not, however, modified the purposes or content of the journal. Nor will the termination on December 31, 1940, of the agreement under which the journal has been published by the American Book Company affect its format or quality. The National Council for the Social Studies will now undertake the publishing responsibility, contracting for printing, distribution, and promotion. . . .

Our subscription list has continued to grow, though it is still subject to some seasonal fluctuation. The National Council for the Social Studies recently established headquarters in Washington, in charge of a newly created executive secretary, and plans a vigorous drive for members, which, as it succeeds, automatically brings new subscribers.

Editorial expenses for the year ending August 31, 1940, were $6969.63, or $1219.26 less than for the preceding year. Receipts from advertising and that part of subscription income (20 per cent) allocated to editorial costs totaled $4241.93, or $660.75 less than for the preceding year, the decline being due to a drop in advertising receipts, a trend which now appears to be reversed. The net cost of the magazine for the year, met from reserves, is $2727.70, or $558.51 less than for 1938-39. Our reserve on August 31, 1940, including deposits in New York, totaled $9508.79.

ANNUAL REPORT. The following passages are quoted from the report of the chairman of the committee charged with the publication of the *Annual Report:*

Only one volume in the annual report series was completed and distributed during the fiscal year 1939-40—the *Proceedings* volume for 1938, which constitutes Volume I of the report for that year. *Writings on American History* for 1936, which is to constitute Volume II of the report for that year, is nearly ready for distribution. The *Proceedings* volume for 1939, constituting Volume I of the report for that year, is in galley proof, but it is unlikely that it will be ready for distribution before the end of the calendar year. A combined volume of *Writings on American History* for 1937 and 1938 was sent to the printer in June, 1940, but, as no proof for it has been received as yet, it is impossible to predict when it will be ready for distribution. Copy for a volume to consist of instructions of the British Foreign Secretaries to their envoys in the United States, 1791-1812, edited by Bernard Mayo, which is to appear as Volume III of the report for 1936, has just been sent to the printer.

The usual allotment of $8000 from the printing fund of the Smithsonian Institution for the publication of the *Annual Report* of the Association has been reduced for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, to $7100, in order to assist the Smithsonian Institution in setting up a reserve from its appropriation, as required by the Bureau of the Budget. In addition there is available for expenditure during the current fiscal year a balance of $5679.55 carried over from the previous fiscal year, which makes the total available $12,779.55. The obligations against this sum consist of $7436.63 for the 1937-38 *Writings,* $1600 for the 1939 *Proceedings,* and $3553.50 for the volume edited by Dr. Mayo, making a total of $12,590.13, which leaves only $189.37 unobligated.

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As this sum will be too small to provide for the *Proceedings* volume for 1940, it will be necessary to defer the printing of that volume until the appropriation for the fiscal year 1941-42 is available.

WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY. Copy for the combined volume *Writings on American History,* 1937-38, was completed by Grace G. Griffin, Editor, and Dorothy M. Louraine, Compiler, in June, 1940. Miss Griffin and Mrs. Louraine expected to take up the proofreading as soon as galley proof was received from the Government Printing Office. Unfortunately, the funds available for further editorial work are about exhausted, and editorial work has had to be suspended pending the securing of funds for financing it.

Writings on American History continues to present a serious financial problem. The cost of printing is, of course, covered by the Federal appropriation, but the cost of editing has to be met by the Association. It amounts to about $2000 a year. At the beginning of the fiscal year $60.85 remained in the fund earmarked for the editorial expenses of *Writings*. To that amount $600 was added by appropriation from the treasury of the Association, and about $1400 was collected from individual contributors through the office of the Executive Secretary. But it becomes increasingly apparent that some other provision will have to be made for the publication of *Writings* if the enterprise is to be continued. The committee in charge has proposed changes in format and content which ought to reduce both editorial work and printing costs, but the financial problem still remains. After careful deliberation the Executive Committee has decided to recommend to the Council that the publication of *Writings* be assigned to the Albert J. Beveridge Fund Committee and financed out of the resources of that committee. The plan is to publish *Writings* annually as a publication of the Beveridge Fund Committee and to sell the volume at a price. It is estimated that the total editorial and printing costs will not exceed $4000, and if the volume is priced at $3 enough copies may well be sold to cover expenses, or at any rate a considerable part of them. All receipts from sales are, therefore, to be credited to the Beveridge Fund Committee. The Executive Committee is of the opinion that the association of this indispensable reference work with the name of the late Senator Beveridge will be one very significant way of commemorating his memory in applying the funds which Senator and Mrs. Beveridge and their friends have generously contributed to the support of the Association and its work. It will be borne in mind, of course, that if the Council approves of this recommendation, the $600 heretofore contributed by the Association to editorial expenses will be released for general purposes, and the government printing appropriation, a large part of which has generally been applied to the printing of *Writings,* will also be released for publications of a character like those now published by the Beveridge Fund Committee.

The Cumulative Index of *Writings* to 1930, being prepared by David M. Matteson, has made better progress during the year, having advanced from

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the letter "C" to the letter "K". It seems desirable to make provision for the continuation of this Index to at least as far as the volume for the year 1937-38, now in galley. An appeal has accordingly been made to the American Council of Learned Societies, which has already provided funds to maintain the work now in progress, for an additional subvention to cover the editorial work on a supplementary volume from 1930 to 1938.

List of Doctoral Dissertations. The list of doctoral dissertations in progress in all American universities north of Mexico during the year 1939 was prepared in the Executive Secretary's office and published as a supplement to the *American Historical Review* for April, 1940. As an appendix to this list, a list of other research projects in history in progress was also published. The expenses involved were financed in large part by a grant from the Carnegie Institution of Washington of $300. A second grant of the same size from the same source is promised for the year 1940. But the Carnegie Institution has assumed no continuing obligation; and unless a subvention is forthcoming from some other source, it is doubtful if these useful lists can be issued after April, 1941, or at least issued gratis to all members of the Association. They might perhaps be sold for enough to meet editorial and printing costs.

Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund Publications. The chairman of the committee in charge of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund reports as follows:

1. The editorial work of H. M. Perkins, *Northern Editorials on Secession,* companion to Dumond's *Southern Editorials on Secession,* is in press and will be published in the spring. The two remaining editorial projects, Monaghan's *The Papers of John Jay* and Easterby's *The Allston Rice Plantation Records,* are expected within the coming year.

2. The Beveridge Memorial Monograph Series is in the process of inauguration. Eleven manuscripts were submitted to the committee in January. Four of these were too long to be considered monographs under the committee's definition of length as approximately 75,000 words. Of the remaining seven, but one was considered to measure up to the committee's requirements of significance, completeness, and excellence of style. It was therefore decided that the inaugural volume should be Dr. Ethyn Williams Kirby's *Life of George Keith.* In making this decision, the committee did not rely entirely upon its own judgment, but in four instances had monographs read by experts in the field. Dr. Kirby's book will be published in the spring. The committee expects to receive another group of manuscripts in January, 1941, and in succeeding years. It is to be hoped that as the knowledge of this publication opportunity becomes more widespread, a larger number of monographs that are *well written* will be submitted.

3. The committee has published *A Manual of Style,* prepared by Miss Bertha E. Josephson, which contains the rules of format which the committee has adopted and which will be followed hereafter. The committee suggests that those who intend to submit manuscripts for publication by the committee procure a copy in advance and follow the directions therein contained. The committee recommends that the Council consider the desirability of making this the official guide of the Association.

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4. The committee financed the first award of the Beveridge Memorial Prize, which was judged by another committee. The prize monograph was already in print, so could not be included in the Beveridge Memorial Series.

The committee has thus begun the contemplated transfer of its interest. The series of source publications is practically finished, and the income from the Beveridge Memorial Fund will now be devoted in large part to encouraging the more effective use of monographic presentation of the results of research. It believes that this type of scholarship has much to contribute to American history.

LITTLETON-GRISWOLD FUND PUBLICATIONS. The committee in charge of these publications has published nothing during the year, though it reports considerable progress on all except one of the nine volumes it has planned. For the titles of these volumes reference is made to the report of the Executive Secretary for 1939 (*American Historical Review*, April, 1940, p. 739). These volumes will cover a wide range of colonial legal records in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. The chairman of the committee reports: "prospects seem excellent that several further volumes of the American Legal Records Series (not so large as those heretofore published) should be issued during the next two years, and that other volumes may then follow with fair regularity". At the end of the fiscal year $7777.62 stood to the credit of the committee in the treasury of the Association.

CARNEGIE REVOLVING FUND PUBLICATIONS. The chairman of the committee administering this fund reports as follows:

Your Committee has examined about a dozen manuscripts during the past year and has accepted one of them, Helen G. Stafford, *James VI of Scotland and the Throne of England*, for book publication. Another manuscript . . . has been reported on favorably by two members of the Committee, and will in all probability be accepted soon. The Committee is continuing its policy of rejecting manuscripts that cannot be classified as definitely superior. Perhaps in part as a result of this policy, there has been an unanticipated increase in book sales achieved by our later publications, and a consequent enrichment of the Fund. This development, however, has not tempted us to lower our standards, but it should encourage authors with worthwhile manuscripts to submit their work to us.

During the fiscal year royalties received from publications of the committee amounted to $2509.69, of which $1800.01 represented royalties on the last three volumes published. The fund shows a balance standing to its credit of $9689.74. It began with $25,000. Twenty-three volumes have been published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN TRAVEL. This committee has been inactive during the current year because of lack of funds. The chairman writes as follows:

If we had been able to secure the needed several thousand dollars the bibliography would now be going to the printers instead of being merely the subject of reports.

My strong feeling is that this project should certainly be completed—and

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as quickly as possible. I have continued my own work on the French travellers so that this section would be as complete as possible.

Committee on Historical Source Materials. This committee, with its various subcommittees, has been interesting itself in many matters pertinent to the Association. It works in close contact with the historical Records Survey of W.P.A., and its general chairman, Herbert A. Kellar, has recently been appointed Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the Survey.

Mr. Kellar reports four significant projects under consideration by the Historical Records Survey:

1. An annual census of manuscript acquisitions by historical agencies in the United States.
2. A list of masters' and doctors' dissertations in the United States, with perhaps some brief critical analysis of them.
3. A reproduction of texts of important unpublished manuscripts printed in sales catalogues.
4. A project instituted by the Library of Congress to microfilm important American newspapers, and perhaps to index them.

The Subcommittee on Library Holdings reports the preparation of a list of uniform symbols for foreign libraries. The Subcommittee on Archives is investigating the possibilities of preparing a guide to archival institutions and activities. The special committee concerned with a project to microfilm British Sessional Papers reports that arrangements have been made to reproduce these papers by the Albert Boni microprint process. The enterprise will be privately financed.

Mr. Kellar, at the request of Mr. Leland of the American Council of Learned Societies, has recently been interesting himself in securing from American scholars some appraisal of manuscript collections in the European war zones, with a view to taking immediate steps for their reproduction and preservation. He writes that he has received reports from 220 American scholars covering source materials in thirty-five countries. His complete list by countries covers 439 typewritten pages; by depositories, 552 typewritten pages. "To the best of my knowledge", he writes, "this is the first time that any attempt has been made to ascertain, on a reasonably wide scale, what American scholars know about records in foreign countries, and it is evident from the content of the lists that they possess much valuable information."

Committee on Americana for College Libraries. Sixteen libraries are participating in this Plan, every one of them contributing $500 to match $500 contributed by the committee. In general, operations of the Plan follow those outlined in previous reports. During the last fiscal year 825 items were distributed to participating colleges. The work of the committee is financed by annual grants from the McGregor Fund, thus carrying on an enterprise established and fostered in its beginnings by the late Tracy W. McGregor.

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COMMITTEE ON RADIO. The 1939-40 series of thirty-six broadcasts on "The Story behind the Headlines" ended on July 7, 1940. Copies of these broadcasts, together with a critical bibliography on the subject of the broadcast, were distributed by the Columbia University Press at ten cents a copy. The broadcasts are financed chiefly by the National Broadcasting Company, assisted by a grant of $1100 from the Keith Fund. Altogether $8976 were collected for the purpose. César Saerchinger acted once more as broadcaster. By reducing the salary of the director and the honoraria to historians we were able to finance the series without any general appeal for support. The entire cost, as heretofore, was met without any financial contribution from the Association.

With a further grant of $1100 from the Keith Fund and with continuing support from the National Broadcasting Company, the series for 1940-41 opened on November 8, 1940, with the same type of program and the same broadcaster. It is interesting to note that these broadcasts over the red network are becoming increasingly popular, as evidenced by the fact that they are being taken by an increasing number of stations on the network. The N.B.C. supplies free time on the air in addition to taking care of the major part of our operating expenses. The program itself is entirely controlled by the committee, though, of course, every broadcast is read in the N.B.C. offices before it goes on the air. We have never, in our whole experience, encountered the slightest disposition on the part of the N.B.C. to influence or control our perfect freedom to broadcast what seems to us to be appropriate. It will not be forgotten that these broadcasts are composed in consultation with distinguished scholars, that the critical bibliographies are prepared by experts, and that the subjects are all selected with reference to their immediate popular interest. The mimeographed copies of them should be of great value, not only to teachers of contemporary history but also as a weekly guide to well-selected reading on world affairs. This year the broadcast comes on Friday evenings at 11:15 p.m. Eastern Standard Time on the red network of the N.B.C. Copies of each broadcast may be secured at ten cents apiece from the Columbia University Press.

This experiment in historical broadcasting is now in its third year. It now bids fair to become an established institution. It has never cost the Association a penny. The entire credit for this achievement belongs to the director, who has not only raised all the funds required but has also managed each series with rare tact and good judgment. The committee, including the chairman, has acted simply in an advisory capacity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH HISTORY, 1714-1789. Mr. Pargellis, the American associate editor in this enterprise, reports that considerable progress has been made during the year. The terminal date for publications included has been fixed at 1940. He raises the question as to whether, in view of the war, the Association should not interest itself in arranging for publication in this country.

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Mr. Lunt reports that practically no progress has been made on the projected new edition of Gross, *The Sources and Literature of English History . . . to 1485,* because of lack of funds.

PRIZES OFFERED BY THE ASSOCIATION. The George Louis Beer Prize was awarded this year to Richard Heathcote Heindel for his book *The American Impact on Great Britain, 1898-1914* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940). The committee considered a close second Philip Mason Burnett's *Reparation at the Paris Peace Conference* (2 vols., New York, Columbia University Press, 1940). The committee reports that seven works were submitted, of which two were eliminated for technical reasons.

The John H. Dunning Prize was awarded this year to Richard W. Leopold for his *Robert Dale Owen* (Harvard University Press, 1940), with honorable mention to S. H. Brockunier for his *The Irrepressible Democrat: Roger Williams* (Ronald Press Company, 1940). The committee reports:

> Eleven essays were submitted on various phases of American history. . . . There were three in the colonial field, one in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, one covering the first half of the nineteenth century, two on the Civil War, one late nineteenth century, three within the century as a whole. One study was in diplomatic history, one in religious, one in legal, one in institutional, four in economic, one in social and two in intellectual history with the chief emphasis on ideas rather than on events and movements and their interpretations.
>
> There were three or four exceptionally fine essays, any one of which the Committee could have reported with pride for the award. . . . Though the Committee could wish that the prize had wider appeal and more competitors, it felt well pleased with the high quality of the better half of the essays submitted. It is interesting to note that the best three were written as Ph.D. theses at Harvard and Yale.

The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize was awarded this year to John Shelton Curtiss for his *Church and State in Russia, 1900-1917* (Columbia University Press, 1940), with honorable mention to David Harris Willson for his book *The Privy Councillors in the House of Commons, 1604-1629* (University of Minnesota Press, 1940).

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE. The gross gain in membership for the year ending December 1, 1940, was 275, as compared with 352 last year and 414 the year before that. The net gain was forty, as compared with 108 last year and 188 the year before that. The year's increase in membership was chiefly in the following states: New York (49), California (24), Massachusetts (22), District of Columbia (17), Pennsylvania (17), Virginia (14), Connecticut (12), Illinois (11), Maryland (11). In no one of the other states were there more than ten new members added, with no new members at all in eight states. It will be noted that except for California and Illinois, the large gains in state memberships are all along the Atlantic Seaboard. New York and California alone showed a greater increase in membership this year than last year. In total membership by states, New York has an easy lead with 533,

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Massachusetts is second (307), Pennsylvania third (255), Illinois fourth (250), District of Columbia fifth (210), and California sixth (209). In proportion to total population, the District of Columbia makes easily the best showing; the New England states in general make a better showing than any other part of the union. Out of a total membership of about 3500, about 2000 are east of the Alleghenies, 1200 between the Alleghenies and the Rockies, and 319 on the Pacific Coast. The Atlantic Seaboard region between New York and the District of Columbia, inclusive, contains almost exactly one third of the total membership.

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION. The report of the Board of Trustees, distributed with the report of the Treasurer at the annual meeting, reveals the fact that the net result of the year's management of the investments of the Association has been a decrease in the market values of the securities held by the Association from $215,978.85 to $213,008.28, a decrease of a little over 1 per cent. During the same period, the income decreased from $8746 to $8597, a decrease of 1.7 per cent. Charges made by the Fiduciary Trust Company for the management of securities amounted to $1085.80; brokerage charges on purchases and sales amounted to $180.05. The Board of Trustees incurred no expenses in the performance of its duties, and the Association owes an accumulating debt of gratitude to the members of the Board for their careful oversight of the invested funds of the Association.

A detailed statement of the operating finances of the Association at the end of the fiscal year has been presented in the Treasurer's report distributed at the annual meeting. Receipts for the year were $26,064.75, as compared with $26,725 anticipated in the budget, a shortage of $664. Our budgetary estimates are, of course, based upon our hopes, and our hopes were not realized in three directions: (1) our membership fees were about $1000 less than we anticipated; (2) our receipts from interest on investments were about $130 less; (3) our expected profits from the *American Historical Review* were about $550 less.

These shortages, amounting in the aggregate to $1680, were very considerably reduced by the receipt of $875 from the sale of advertising in the annual program and of exhibit space at the annual meeting. On the other side of the account, disbursements exceeded estimates by about $250, the chief item of increase being the printing bill in connection with the publication of the program, which exceeded estimates by about $475. This, of course, was due to the extensive advertising in the program and was much more than compensated for by the receipts from advertising. All the other items of expenditure were less than the amount anticipated in the budget. Our total receipts were $26,064.75; our total expenditures, $27,522.94; a loss on operations of nearly $1500, as compared with a loss last year of $130. We started the fiscal year 1940-41 with a balance in the general operating account of $4391.

It is pretty clear that unless we increase our income, we shall have to

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decrease our expenditures. If we turn over the whole problem of publishing *Writings on American History* to the Beveridge Committee, we shall have $600 normally appropriated to support *Writings*. Advertising in the program and the sale of exhibit space ought to net another $400. But even so we shall be short at the end of the year unless we can effect other economies or increase income. It is hoped that the concentration of our activities in Washington may result in some saving in operating expenses, though preliminary estimates are not particularly reassuring. The best hope lies in increasing membership. Whether war profits will favor us more than war taxes will operate against us no one can confidently predict. Certainly we must be diligent in our search for new sources of revenue and thrifty in the expenditure of what we have.

CONYERS READ, *Executive Secretary.*

THE OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1941

President: James Westfall Thompson, University of California, Berkeley.

First Vice-President: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University.

Second Vice-President: Nellie Neilson, Mount Holyoke College.

Executive Secretary: Conyers Read, 226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia.

Treasurer: Solon J. Buck, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer: Patty W. Washington, Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington, D. C.

Editor of the Association: Lowell Joseph Ragatz, George Washington University.

Council: (ex officio) the president, vice-presidents, executive secretary, treasurer, and managing editor of the *American Historical Review;* (former presidents) Albert Bushnell Hart, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Edward P. Cheyney, Charles M. Andrews, Henry Osborn Taylor, Evarts B. Greene, Carl Becker, Herbert E. Bolton, Charles A. Beard, Michael I. Rostovtzeff, Charles H. McIlwain, Guy Stanton Ford, Frederic L. Paxson, William Scott Ferguson, Max Farrand; (elected members) Eugene C. Barker, Laurence B. Packard, R. J. Kerner, Allan Nevins, Merle Curti, Louis R. Gottschalk, Benjamin B. Kendrick, Raymond J. Sontag.

Executive Committee of the Council: Laurence B. Packard, Amherst College, chairman; Merle E. Curti, Benjamin B. Kendrick, Raymond J. Sontag; (ex officio) Solon J. Buck, Conyers Read.

Committee on Appointments: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University, chairman; Merle E. Curti, Louis R. Gottschalk, James Westfall Thompson; (ex officio) Conyers Read.

Board of Trustees: Shepard Morgan, Chase National Bank, New York City, chairman; W. Randolph Burgess, Leon Fraser, Stanton Griffis, Thomas I. Parkinson.

Standing Committee on Government Publications: Louis C. Hunter, American University, chairman; Homer C. Hockett, J. Fred Rippy.

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The Pacific Coast Branch: President, Waldemar Westergaard, University of California at Los Angeles; Vice-President, Frederic L. Paxson, University of California, Berkeley; Secretary-Treasurer, John H. Kemble, Pomona College; *Council,* the above officers and W. Stull Holt, Louis K. Koontz, Frederick L. Nussbaum, Max Savelle; Managing Editor of the *Pacific Historical Review,* Louis K. Koontz.

Committee on Program for the Fifty-sixth Annual Meeting: Curtis P. Nettels, University of Wisconsin, chairman.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Bessie L. Pierce, University of Chicago, chairman.

Committee on Nominations: Paul H. Buck, Harvard University, chairman; Eugene N. Anderson, Thomas A. Bailey, Ella Lonn, Howard Robinson.

The American Historical Review: Managing Editor, Robert Livingston Schuyler, 535 West 114th Street, New York City; Assistant Editor, Florence Miller; Board of Editors, Arthur E. R. Boak, William L. Langer, William E. Lunt, Dexter Perkins, J. G. Randall, Preserved Smith.

Social Education: Editor, Erling M. Hunt, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University; Executive Board, Harold F. Clark, Columbia University, chairman; (ex officio) Conyers Read, secretary; Howard R. Anderson, Ella Hawkinson, Erling M. Hunt, James A. Michener, Bessie L. Pierce, Edwin H. Reeder, Edgar B. Wesley, Louis Wirth.

Committee on Membership: Francis P. Weisenburger, Ohio State University, chairman, with power to appoint his associates.

Committees on Prizes: John H. Dunning Prize, Paul H. Buck, Harvard University, chairman; Philip Davidson, jr., Charles A. Barker. *George Louis Beer Prize,* Arthur J. May, University of Rochester, chairman; Troyer S. Anderson, Ralph Haswell Lutz. *Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize,* William T. Hutchinson, University of Chicago, chairman; Richard O. Cummings, Colin B. Goodykoontz. *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize,* W. K. Jordan, University of Chicago, chairman.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications: John D. Hicks, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Verner W. Crane, Sidney Packard, Caroline Robbins, Raymond J. Sontag, Edward Whitney.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund: Richard H. Shryock, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Julius W. Pratt, Laura A. White.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund: Francis S. Philbrick, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carroll T. Bond, John Dickinson, Walton H. Hamilton, Leonard W. Labaree, Richard B. Morris, Thomas I. Parkinson.

Committee on Historical Source Materials: Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick Historical Association, chairman. *Special Committees: Archives,* Margaret C. Norton, Illinois State Library, chairman; *Manuscripts,* Wendell H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University, chairman; *Newspapers,* Culver H. Smith, University of Chattanooga, chairman; *Business Records,* Oliver M. Dickerson, Colorado State Teachers College, chairman; *Library*

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Holdings, Douglas C. McMurtrie, American Imprints Survey, Evanston, chairman; *British Sessional Papers,* Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; *Preservation and Restoration of Historical Objects,* Russell H. Anderson, Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago, chairman; *Research Associate,* Everett E. Edwards, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Committee on Publication of the Annual Report: Lowell Joseph Ragatz, George Washington University, chairman; Solon J. Buck, Louis C. Hunter, St. George L. Sioussat.

Committee on Writings on American History: Referred for consideration of Executive Committee.

Committee on the Bibliography of American Travel: Referred to the Executive Committee.

Committee on Radio: Conyers Read, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Phillips Bradley, Stephen Duggan, John A. Krout, Walter C. Langsam, Shepard Morgan, Stanley Pargellis, Charles G. Proffitt, Evelyn Plummer Read, Ralph S. Rounds, César Saerchinger, Raymond Gram Swing, Elizabeth Y. Webb.

Committee on Americana for College Libraries: Randolph G. Adams, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, chairman; Kathryn L. Slagle, secretary; Arthur S. Aiton, Julian Parks Boyd, Conyers Read, Thomas W. Streeter, Lawrence C. Wroth.

Representatives of the Association in Allied Bodies: American Council of Learned Societies, William Scott Ferguson, Wallace Notestein. *International Committee of Historical Sciences,* Waldo G. Leland, James T. Shotwell. *Social Science Research Council,* Merle E. Curti, Roy F. Nichols, Arthur M. Schlesinger.

Official Representative upon the National Parks Association Board: B. Floyd Flickinger, Winchester, Virginia.

Committee on War Service: To be appointed by the Executive Committee.

The following prizes are offered by the Association this year: the George Louis Beer Prize for the best work on any phase of European international history since 1895; the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize for a monograph, in manuscript or in print, in the field of American, including South American, history. All works submitted in competition for these prizes must be in the hands of the prize committees (see p. 749 above) on or before June 1, 1941. The date of publication of printed monographs submitted in competition must fall within a period of two and a half years prior to June 1, 1941.

The *Journal of the History of Ideas* will devote its June, 1941, issue (Vol. II, no. 3) to the publication of papers presented at the sessions on the Romantic Movement in Western Europe which were held at the annual meeting of the Association last December.

Dr. Susie M. Ames, associate professor of history at Randolph-Macon

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Woman's College, and Professor Garrard Glenn of the law faculty of the University of Virginia are to edit a volume of Virginia court records to be published under the auspices of the Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund. This will appear as one of the series on American Legal Records. The records of the courts of the Eastern Shore of Virginia have been chosen for the first volume to be issued for Virginia. The court records of the two counties in this region, Accomack and Northampton, date from 1632 and are the oldest continuous county court records in the United States.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association has announced the following awards in history for the year 1940: to Margaret Marion Spector, for her book entitled *The American Department of the British Government, 1768-1782,* published by the Columbia University Press, and to Charles Stuart Blackton, for a manuscript entitled *The Australian Movement against Penal Transportation from Great Britain, 1835-1865.*

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: films of manuscripts in the Archivo general de Indias, Seville, Spain (Justicia, legajos 195 and 250, and Mexico, legajo 1010), dated 1541 to 1703; two typewritten indexes of facsimiles of medieval Latin manuscripts, prepared by Dr. E. A. Lowe; three volumes of manuscript in Latin, with titles and section headings in Dutch, consisting of Book III, Parts I-XIII, and Book III, Parts XIX-XXIV, of *Theses selectae juris Hollandici et Zeelandici* by Dionysius Godefridus von der Keessel; films of the minute books of the New York Supreme Court of Judicature, 1704-1776 (including minutes of the trial in April, 1735, of John Peter Zenger); thirty-nine boxes of papers of the Clay family (Henry Clay and others), known as the Thomas J. Clay Collection (1740 to 1928), and photostats, additional to the collection, of ten papers (including letters of Daniel Boone and George Washington); thirty-one papers of Charles Carroll of Carrollton (including papers of the Baltimore Iron Works Company), dated June 24, 1767, to March 26, 1773, and November 17, 1813, to December 13, 1828; one box of papers of Edward Hand, dated October 10, 1777, to August 25, 1778, and pay rolls, 1776 to 1782; two volumes of reports of debates in the House of Representatives of the United States, taken in shorthand (with a few notes in longhand) by Thomas Lloyd, April 8 to May 15, 1789, and January 19 to June 3, 1790; film copy of journal of Captain Andrew Pinkham, of ship *President,* 1799; sixteen additional volumes of diaries of Thomas Worthington, dated July 4, 1801, to March 16, 1827; one volume of legal accounts of Martin Van Buren, dated September 1, 1807, to September 8, 1813 (mainly 1807 to 1810); one volume of accounts of law partnership of Madison Caruthers and James Knox Polk, Polk's first law partnership, dated August

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15, 1820, to January 14, 1823; twenty-one boxes of additional papers of Clara Barton, dated 1830 to 1916; three boxes (including eight volumes) of papers of Alexander S. Palmer, R. F. Loper, and a few of Nathaniel Brown Palmer (of Stonington, Connecticut), additional to other Palmer papers, relating to shipping and business, dated 1834 to 1884; twenty-four pieces of the correspondence of Reuben Hyde Walworth (including nine Edwin M. Stanton letters), dated 1838 to 1867; one volume of accounts, receipts, orders to pay, and letters of Pierce M. Butler, dated 1843 to 1845; six papers of George Bancroft and Elizabeth Davis Bancroft (additional to the papers of George Bancroft and Alexander Bliss), dated September 8-December, 1845, and May 12-19, 1923; one volume of diary of Dr. Caleb Burwell Rowan Kennerly, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U.S.A. (and ornithologist), dated June 19, 1853, to April 11, 1854; typewritten copy of diary of Allen W. Miller (Captain, Co. C, 36th Iowa Infantry, United States Army), relating to the Civil War, dated January 1, 1863, to August 18, 1864; photostats of two letters from Abraham Lincoln to Edwin M. Stanton, dated June 22, 1863, and August 11, 1864; two boxes of Breckinridge family papers, 1863 to recent dates; four volumes of papers pertaining to United States naval matters, dated 1865 to January 30, 1867; twenty additional papers of Susan Brownell Anthony, dated October 21, 1875, to October 2, 1904; 218 items additional to the papers of Woodrow Wilson, dated April 3, 1877, to October 26, 1923; seven items additional to the papers of Benjamin Harrison (President), dated October 24, 1881, to December 30, 1886; six boxes of additional papers of Richmond Pearson Hobson, dated 1890 to 1937; eighty-three letters of Theodore Roosevelt, mainly to Jacob Riis, dated December 4, 1894, to September 12, 1913; twenty-two additional papers of Jane Addams, dated 1899 to 1901; a large box of papers pertaining to Lafcadio Hearn and Dr. George M. Gould, dated *ca.* 1900 to 1935; twenty-five papers of Miles P. DuVal, jr., Commander, United States Navy, consisting of correspondence with Philippe Bunau-Varilla, relating to the construction of the Panama Canal, July 5, 1937, to March 21, 1940.

The sixth annual report of the Archivist of the United States, recently published, describes the activities of the National Archives during the fiscal year 1939-40, including assistance rendered to the national defense program. It is illustrated by a series of eleven reproductions of documents in the National Archives and includes among the appendixes a newly issued set of regulations for the use of records and a list of publications based on material in the National Archives. The first annual report of the Archivist as to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has been issued as a separate publication. Edgar B. Nixon, formerly an editorial assistant on the *Territorial Papers* project of the Department of State, and James L. Whitehead, formerly state supervisor of the W.P.A. Survey of Federal Archives in Pennsylvania, have been appointed associate archivist and assistant archivist, respectively, at the

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Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. The records of the Washington office of the National Recovery Administration, with the exception of a few files in the custody of the Departments of Agriculture and Labor, are all now in the National Archives. Recent transfers include files relating to the organization and administration of the N.R.A.; files concerned with the formation, amendment, and administration of codes; and reference and research files. Among the records recently transferred to the National Archives from the General Land Office are letters received from surveyors general and from registers and receivers of land offices, 1803-33; correspondence, leases, and other records relating to the War Department's supervision of lead and copper mines on the public domain in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, 1824-47; and miscellaneous records of land offices in Arkansas, California, Idaho, Louisiana, Montana, and Ohio, 1829-1920. Recent additions to the growing body of agricultural records in the National Archives include the general correspondence files of the Extension Service and of its predecessor agencies, 1907-33; correspondence of the divisions of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics dealing with agricultural finance, land economics, farm population and rural welfare, cotton, wool, and hay, feed, and seed, 1926-31; and correspondence, reports, manuscripts of studies, and other records of the Division of Chemical Engineering Research, 1914-29. Among maps recently transferred to the National Archives are seventy-five items relating to the District of Columbia, 1791-1895, including the originals of Nicholas King's wharfing plans, 1797, and of his plats of the city of Washington, 1803; copies of township plats used by the General Land Office in examining mineral land patents, chiefly in the Southwest, 1870-1900; Reclamation Bureau plats showing farm units of irrigation projects in the Far West, 1907-40; and Tennessee Valley Authority maps showing drainage, cultural features, and place names in the Tennessee River drainage basin, 1934-40. Photographic materials recently received by the National Archives include about three thousand negatives of photographs showing construction activities of the Corps of Engineers, 1875-1902, and a collection of forty-nine of the earliest motion-picture "nickelodeon" shows, 1894-1917, a gift of Thomas Armat.

The Roosevelt Memorial Association, 28 East 20th Street, New York, has acquired microfilm copies of the Theodore Roosevelt Letterbooks in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, covering the dates April, 1897, to March 4, 1909, and November 18, 1912, to July 11, 1916 (104 volumes). By agreement with Dr. St. George L. Sioussat, chief of that division, these microfilm letters may now be consulted there under the same rulings as apply in the Library of Congress: (1) scholars must present to the librarian a letter granting access to the letters, signed by Dr. Sioussat or his authorized agent; (2) notes made from letters must be submitted through the librarian to Dr. Sioussat for his consideration; (3) publication must be taken up with the Guaranty Trust Company, 140 Broadway, New York, acting for the

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Roosevelt estate. Subject to the same rulings, the Roosevelt Memorial Association is also making available its own collection of letters. Its library contains Theodore Roosevelt's own scrapbooks of clippings, dating from 1876 to the end of his presidency, March 4, 1909 (150 volumes). These and the microfilm letters form a unique storehouse of primary source material. The library is in essence an American history library, covering the period from 1880 to 1920, with the emphasis naturally on Theodore Roosevelt. Collateral material has been comprehensively considered: memoirs of his friends and contemporaries; Panama Canal diplomacy; Spanish-American War; ephemeral political campaign literature; cartoons; photographs; clippings; and long runs of the New York *Times, Tribune,* and *World* and the London *Times*. Reading room facilities include the use of a Model "C" Recordak Film Reader.

An article by Richard H. Heindel published in the *Christian Science Monitor,* January 25, 1941, entitled "Aims of Nazis are seen in French Book Purges", will be of interest to our readers. It describes black lists used by the Germans in their raids on French libraries and book shops. The first of these lists to reach this country, and probably the first to be drawn up, known as the *Liste Bernhard,* contains 143 forbidden items including a number of historical books, among them, Louis Fischer, *The War in Spain,* Konrad Heiden, *Histoire du national-socialisme,* Calvin B. Hoover, *Germany enters the Third Reich,* and H. R. Knickerbocker, *The German Crisis*. On September 28 a convention was signed at Paris by the Syndicat des éditeurs and the German officials providing for a rigorous publishers' censorship and referring to a *Liste Otto* as the first of many to follow. This "bans 1041 writings . . . the work of about 600 writers, originating in 136 different publishing houses". Among the historical writings included in this list are several books by Salvemini and by Count Sforza, John Gunther's *Inside Europe,* five volumes by G. Ferrero, Friedrich Engels's *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany,* Seton-Watson's *Histoire des Roumains,* Ph. Sagnac's *Le Rhin français pendant la révolution et l'empire,* Camille Bloch's *Die Ursachen des Weltkrieges,* Stephen Graham's *Sarajevo,* L. Reynaud's *Français et Allemand,* Maurois's *Histoire d'Angleterre,* Krakowski's *Histoire de la Pologne*.

In a statement which he was good enough to send us recently Dr. Heindel calls attention to the large number of history textbooks listed in the *Bibliographie de la France* of October 11, 1940, as having been withdrawn from sale by the German authorities. These include books of the following historical writers: Aimond, Ammann, Ancel, Béjean, Bergeron, Bernard, P. Besseige, Blanchet, E. Bourgeois, Brossolette, Brunet, Bruneteau, Calvert, Cohen, Coutant, Dauzat, Driault, Gagnol, Gallouédec, Gaquère, Godefroy, Grouzet, Guillemain, Guiraud, Hallynck, Hénon, Holot, Huby, Isaac, Jolivet, Koenig, Laclef, Lavisse, Lecat, A. Lechevalier, Legrand, Lemonnier,

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L. Leroy, Locqueux, A. Lyonnet, Malet, Martin, Maurette, Métin, Mignot, Miroux, Mohler, Nouvel, Pagès, Piton, Redon, Rogie, Roubaud, Seignobos, Tebsen, Toutain, Vidal, Villain, and many of the co-operative volumes issued by the Librairie générale de l'enseignement libre.

We note with interest and pleasure the establishment of a new historical organization, the Economic History Association, which was formed at meetings held last December in New York and New Orleans. Its aim is to encourage research and teaching in the history of economic activity and economic thought, and it hopes to bring together economists, historians, statisticians, geographers, and others who find that the story of economic change throws light on their fields. Any person interested in any phase of economic history may join the association on payment of annual dues of three dollars or life membership dues of one hundred dollars. Graduate students will be admitted, for not more than three years, on payment of annual dues of two dollars. The officers of the Economic History Association are Edwin F. Gay (president), Earl J. Hamilton and Herbert Heaton (vice-presidents), and Shepard B. Clough (secretary-treasurer). Members of the council are Solon J. Buck, Harold A. Innis, Edward C. Kirkland, Wesley C. Mitchell, Everett E. Edwards, Ralph M. Hower, and Herbert A. Kellar. Persons desiring to join the association should communicate with Professor Shepard B. Clough, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City. Arrangements have been made for the publication of a semiannual journal, the *Economic History Journal,* the first issue of which will probably appear in May. Each number will contain articles, bibliographical essays, book reviews, lists of recent publications, and association notes. Professor E. A. J. Johnson (New York University) is the editor, Professor Clough is assistant editor, and the editorial board consists of Professors A. P. Usher, Curtis Nettels, Earl J. Hamilton, Edward C. Kirkland, Melvin Knight, Frederic C. Lane, William L. Westermann, and Mr. Everett E. Edwards.

Another new historical society is the American Association for State and Local History, also established last December. Its first annual meeting will be held at Hartford, Connecticut, on October 8. The immediate program of the association calls for the publication of a new edition of *Historical Societies in the United States and Canada: A Handbook,* of a news letter, and of a number of bulletins on subjects of interest to local historians and local historical societies. A long-range program is contemplated which is expected to arouse popular interest in local history. The officers of the association are C. C. Crittenden (president), Edward P. Alexander (vice-president), and Dorothy C. Barck (acting secretary-treasurer). Institutions as well as individuals are eligible for membership, and those desiring to join should communicate with Miss Barck, 170 Central Park West, New York City.

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The Albemarle County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held in the courthouse at Charlottesville, Virginia, April 4, 1940. The officers for the year 1940-41 are Henry B. Goodloe (president), Mrs. C. Nelson Beck (vice-president), Glenn Curtis Smith (secretary), and Atcheson L. Hench (treasurer). Quarterly meetings are held, and the membership now numbers 225. One of the purposes of the society is to collect and preserve original and secondary materials on the history of the county and vicinity. The Alderman Library of the University of Virginia is the repository for the society's collections. A volume of papers is being published under the direction of Mary Rawlings, Thomas P. Abernethy, and Lester J. Cappon (editor).

There has recently come to our desk a bibliography entitled "Recent Polar Publications", issued as a supplement to the *Polar Times,* which is the organ of the American Polar Society. This society, which was organized in 1934, brings together persons interested in the history and exploration of the arctic and antarctic and acts as a clearing house for polar information. It collects books, reports, maps, photographs, etc., relating to the polar regions. Membership in the society is open to all persons interested in the history and exploration of the polar regions upon payment of the annual dues of one dollar. Russell J. Walrath is president, and August Horowitz is secretary. They may be addressed in care of the American Museum of Natural History, Central Park West at 77th Street, New York City.

A card calendar of source material for the study of Illinois history has been compiled by Katherine Stites, 1747 North Mason Avenue, Chicago. It gives a digest of letters, reports, pamphlets, and books pertaining to the history of the Illinois country. The location of original manuscripts is given, and copies on this continent are noted.

Students of Chinese or Japanese history may be interested in the courses in the Chinese and Japanese languages to be given at Cornell, under the sponsorship of the American Council of Learned Societies, during the coming summer session. Intensive instruction will be given in Chinese for beginners, advanced Chinese, and Japanese. Professor George A. Kennedy of Yale will be in charge of the work in Chinese and Dr. Edwin O. Reischauer of Harvard, of that in Japanese. Persons desiring further information should communicate with Mr. Mortimer Graves, Administrative Secretary, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The third Summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies will be held in the Graduate College, Princeton University, under the directorship of Professor Philip K. Hitti, for a period of six weeks beginning Saturday morning, June 21, 1941. The courses are open to a limited number of men

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and women of graduate standing and are designed to meet the needs of new students as well as those who attended the Seminars of 1935 and 1938. Teachers and students of philosophy and religion, Near Eastern and medieval history, Romance languages and fine arts will be offered an opportunity to acquire firsthand knowledge of some of the sources in the Islamic phases of their respective subjects. For further information address Dr. Nabih A. Faris, P. O. Box 342, Princeton, New Jersey.

The Royal Historical Society has announced that a competition will be held in the year 1943 for a gold medal and money prize of £50 which will be awarded to the writer of the best essay on a subject, to be selected by the candidate, dealing with Scottish history within the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive, provided such subject has previously been submitted to, and approved by, the council of the Royal Historical Society. In the event of submission of work of exceptional merit the society may award a prize in excess of £50. Essays, in typescript, must be in the hands of the Secretary of the Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W. 10, not later than October 31, 1943. Essays should be based on original materials and must not previously have been published or awarded any other prize. For further particulars application should be made to the Secretary of the Royal Historical Society.

PERSONAL

Saul Ginsburg, who died in New York City on November 16, was born in Minsk, Russia, in 1866. He was a graduate of the Law School of St. Petersburg University and a prominent member of the Russian bar. He was interested in the history of Eastern European, and particularly Russian, Jews, in which field he became a leading authority. He began to publish historical essays in 1892 in the Russian review *Voskod*. He founded the historical review *Pereschitoye* (in Russian) in 1910 and the historical review *Heowar* (in Hebrew) in 1918. His publications while he was in Russia—*The Jewish Folksongs in Russia* (1901), *The War of 1812 and the Russian Jews* (1912), *The Origins of Chassidism* (1915), *Out of the Past* (1923)—were all in Russian. He was a cofounder of the Jewish Scientific Institute in Petrograd, which was established in 1917, and occupied the chair of Russian Jewish history there. During the years 1917-24 he collected important materials in the Russian state archives for the history of Eastern European Jews. He came to America in 1933. In 1937 there appeared three volumes of his historical monographs and in 1938, *Jewish Martyrdom in Czarist Russia* (in Yiddish); three additional volumes are now being prepared for publication. A bibliography of his writings from 1892 to 1937 was published in New York in 1937.

Enoch Walter Sikes, president of Clemson College for fifteen years until July 1, 1940, died on January 9. Born in Union County, North Carolina, in 1868, he was graduated from Wake Forest College and received his doctor's

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degree from the Johns Hopkins University in 1897. From the latter date until 1916 he was professor of history and political economy at Wake Forest College, and for nine years prior to 1925 he was president of Coker College. He was the author of *From Colony to Commonwealth* (1897), *The Confederate Congress* (1904), *The First Constitution of North Carolina* (1909), and various articles on North Carolina history. Since his retirement from administrative work last July he had been engaged in research in the history of South Carolina.

Milledge Louis Bonham, jr., professor of history at Hamilton College since 1919, died at his home in Clinton, New York, on January 22 at the age of sixty. Born in Barnwell, South Carolina, Dr. Bonham attended Patrick Military Institute and was a student at the Citadel when war was declared on Spain in 1898. He became battalion sergeant major in the First South Carolina Regiment of Volunteers and served until the regiment was mustered out. He then entered Furman University, from which he was graduated in 1900. After teaching for some years in a number of private and public schools, he began graduate work in history at Columbia Univrsity and received his doctorate in 1910. He was instructor in Tufts College the following year, and then for seven years professor in Louisiana State University. At various times he was visiting professor at Peabody College, University of Vermont, State University of Iowa, North Carolina College for Women, University of Rochester, West Virginia University, and Duke University. He was also for several years professor of church history at the Utica School for Religious Education. During the World War he was a member of the National Board for Historical Service and district director of the War Issues Course in the Students' Army Training Corps. He was a member of the American, Mississippi Valley, Southern, and numerous local historical associations. He wrote *The British Consuls in the Confederacy* and *Robert R. Livingston* (in *American Secretaries of State*) and only recently had completed a life of Governor Milledge L. Bonham of South Carolina, upon which he had been engaged for a number of years. He contributed frequently to historical and other publications and edited several volumes of the *Proceedings of the East and West Baton Rouge Historical Society,* of which organization he was founder, secretary, and later president. An accurate and able investigator, his primary interest, however, was always his teaching, in which he was highly successful. He was also in constant demand as a lecturer. Genial, full of human quality, abounding in humor and anecdote, he was to innumerable acquaintances a valued friend.

Joseph Schafer was born on a farm near Muscoda, Grant County, Wisconsin, on December 29, 1867, and died at his home in Madison on January 27, 1941. Like so many other native-born citizens of Wisconsin, he was the child of German immigrants. As a boy he attended the country school taught

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for several years by his father, a well-educated man who had been a classmate of Karl Marx. At twenty years of age his more formal education began. He was graduated in 1890 from the state normal school in Madison, South Dakota, and from the University of Wisconsin in 1894. His Ph.D. was granted in 1906, also from Wisconsin, where he studied under Turner, Haskins, and Reinsch. A child of true pioneers who had himself already followed the trail to the West, he grasped immediately the significance of Turner's frontier philosophy and remained through a long lifetime of scholarship its most steadfast adherent. He was married in 1895 to Lily Abbott of Columbia, South Dakota, who, together with their five sons and a daughter, survives him. Dr. Schafer's career as a scholar covered the first four decades of the twentieth century. For the first half of this period he taught at the University of Oregon and wrote mainly of the Pacific Northwest. In 1920 he accepted the superintendency of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, where, with tremendous energy, he plunged into the preparation and publication of the *Wisconsin Domesday Book* series, an intensive study of local areas within the state that he believed to be his most significant contribution to historical scholarship. He argued that "by studying the behavior of people in small communities like townships and gaining familiarity with enough samples of such communities, it is possible to generalize the history of states and of the nation". But Dr. Schafer did not confine his work to local history. For fully two decades his "Editorial Comments" in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* followed the main currents of historical thought, sometimes with pungent criticism and always with intelligent appreciation. In 1936, at the invitation of the University of London, he went to England to give a series of lectures on the "Social History of American Agriculture". Published immediately in book form, these essays were acclaimed by a reviewer as "the best one volume history of American agriculture" ever written. Dr. Schafer was the editor or author of seventeen volumes besides numerous articles and reviews in historical publications. He taught for one semester and one summer at the University of Wisconsin, and twice he returned to teach in summer at the University of Oregon, from which in 1933 he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. As a man Joseph Schafer was dignified, modest, charitable, kindly, and wholly democratic. He made many friends and no enemies. Respected by all believers in painstaking research and sound scholarship, his passing will be keenly felt.

Oscar Douglas Skelton died on January 28. Born at Orangeville, Ontario, in 1878, he graduated in classics at Queen's University in 1899 and then entered newspaper and magazine work in Philadelphia, serving as assistant editor of the *Booklovers Magazine*. In 1905 he entered the University of Chicago as a graduate student and in 1908 took his doctorate. It was a tribute to his skill as a writer, to his interest in the social sciences, and to his scholarship that his thesis was published as a Hart, Schaffner, and Marx

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prize essay under the title *Socialism: A Critical Analysis* (Boston, 1911). He was appointed assistant to Professor Adam Shortt in Queen's University in 1907 and after the latter's appointment to the Civil Service Commission followed him in the chair of political science. He was dean of the Faculty of Arts from 1919 to 1924. His success in the administrative activities of Queen's University was accompanied by a wide range of scholarly interests. Following the tradition of Principal Grant and Professor Shortt, he took the keenest interest in the development of Canadian nationalism. As a result of this interest he wrote *The Day of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (1916) and after Laurier's death in 1919 *The Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (1921). So too he wrote *The Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt* (1920). In addition he wrote *A General Economic History of the Dominion, 1867-1912* in *Canada and its Provinces* (reprinted 1913); *The Railway Builders: A Chronicle of Overland Highways* (1916); and *The Canadian Dominion, our Northern Neighbour* (1920). These contributions during the academic period of his career are marked by effective writing, broad scholarship, and an intense nationalism. His concern with the Laurier tradition led him to take an active part in the election of 1917 in opposition to Union government and conscription. With the return of the Liberal administration to power under Mr. Mackenzie King he was appointed undersecretary of the department of external affairs in 1925. During the last phase of his career it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that he played a dominant role in the emergence of Canada as an autonomous member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Under his guidance legations were established in Washington and other important centers, and co-operative arrangements were undertaken within the Commonwealth and with nations outside the Commonwealth. The present status of the Dominion of Canada as it has emerged since the last war has been largely his handiwork. His governmental activities brought an end to productive scholarship except for a series of lectures, *Our Generation: Its Gains and Losses* (1938). But he never lost interest in scholarship, and younger men will cherish his memory for encouragement in kindly reviews or in friendly letters.

A volume of essays by twelve of his former graduate students at Yale, Harvard, and Radcliffe was presented to Professor Wilbur C. Abbott during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in New York. The occasion was a very delightful luncheon at the Harvard Club on December 29, when about twenty-five of Professor Abbott's former students, including most of the contributors of essays, gathered to do him honor. Professor Holden Furber of the University of Texas made the formal presentation of the volume, there were other short speeches, and messages and telegrams were read from several persons unable to be in New York. The Harvard University Press has published the book, which is entitled *Essays in Modern English History in Honor of Wilbur Cortez Abbott*. A foreword

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by President Seymour of Yale, who himself was a student of Professor Abbott, pays tribute to his achievements as a historian, particularly his great power of synthesis and the distinction of his literary style, and makes articulate the appreciative realization on the part of those who have been privileged to study under him of the import of his teachings.

After forty-two years of teaching, Carl Lotus Becker, John Wendell Anderson Professor of History at Cornell University, will retire under the age limit at the end of this session. He has been a member of the department of history in Cornell since 1917. He was president of the American Historical Association in 1931 and is the author of a long list of books, articles, and reviews, through which the originality of his thought and the keenly critical qualities of his mind have become familiar to the wider educated public. His very numerous friends, while regretting his retirement from teaching, will wish him many years of good health and of continued service to scholarship.

Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University is lecturing at Oxford University as Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American History. He is also serving as Visiting Carnegie Professor in the British Isles. During his absence Professor Nevins's work at Columbia is being carried on by Professor Arthur C. Cole as visiting professor of history for the current semester.

Professor Charles W. David of Bryn Mawr has been appointed as professor of history and director of libraries at the University of Pennsylvania. He continues, however, as a professor at Bryn Mawr.

Professor N. Andrew N. Cleven of the University of Pittsburgh, author of *The Political Organization of Bolivia,* has been appointed by the Bolivian government as honorary consul in Pittsburgh.

The following leaves of absence for the present semester are noted: *Columbia University,* William Linn Westermann; *Cornell University,* Carl Stephenson; *Syracuse University,* Ralph V. Harlow.

Announcement is made of the appointment of visiting professors and instructors for the summer sessions of the following universities: *Boston,* Harold E. Conrad. *British Columbia,* F. Lee Benns, R. L. Schuyler. *California* (Berkeley), R. B. Mowat, David Saville Muzzey, John F. Ramsey; Edward H. Tatum, jr., intersession. *California* (Los Angeles), Godfrey Davies, Robert O. DeMond, John D. Hicks. *Chicago,* Quirinus Breen. *City College* (New York), David S. Crist, Clement W. Eaton, Fritz T. Epstein, Daniel D. McGarry, Albert T. Volwiler, Martin Weinbaum. *Colorado,* Ralph H. Gabriel, Albert Hyma, Robert J. Kerner, Lynn I. Perrigo. *Columbia,* Paul Knaplund, A. T. Olmstead, F. L. Paxson, Preston Slosson. *Cornell,* David Harris, Charles S. Sydnor. *Duke,* John K. Bettersworth, C. S.

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Davis, D. B. Durand, Paul W. Gates, Fletcher M. Green, J. J. Mathews, Richard H. Shryock, Mack Swearingen, O. H. Wedel. *Harvard,* Dexter Perkins. *Johns Hopkins,* Howard K. Beale. *Iowa,* Troyer S. Anderson, James L. Sellers. *Michigan,* Arthur H. Buffinton, E. E. Dale, Robert McDowell, S. Harrison Thomson, Menzies Whitelaw. *Missouri,* Henry Johnson, E. Wilson Lyon, C. C. Rister. *Nebraska,* Nelson Vance Russell, William E. Smith, John B. Wolf. *New Mexico,* J. Lloyd Mecham, J. C. Russell, Arnold Tilden. *New York,* Louis M. Sears. *Northwestern,* John Chester Miller, Otakar Odlozilik. *Notre Dame,* Francis J. Tschan. *Oregon,* Edward M. Hulme, Portland session and post-session at Eugene; Roy F. Nichols, Eugene session. *Pennsylvania,* Hugh T. Lefler. *Pennsylvania State,* Charles E. Smith. *Queen's,* John Perry Pritchett. *Rutgers,* William H. Ellison. *Santa Barbara,* George P. Schmidt. *Southern California,* W. B. Hesseltine. *Stanford,* Carlton J. H. Hayes. *Syracuse,* E. Ethan Ellis. *Texas,* E. Merton Coulter, Garland Downum, for the first term; E. R. Adair, James A. Barnes, Philip Davidson, jr., Ohland Morton, Alfred H. Sweet, for the second term; William Campbell Binkley, for both terms. *West Virginia,* Paul H. Clyde, Harold E. Davis. *Wisconsin,* Merrill Jensen, George E. Mowry, T. Harry Williams. *Wyoming,* Louis Pelzer.

Franklin T. Walker, professor of English in William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri, is engaged in the preparation of a book on William Peterfield Trent. He would appreciate the opportunity of corresponding with former colleagues, students, or other friends of Professor Trent at the University of the South, Columbia University, the Johns Hopkins University, or the University of Virginia.

Professor Roland H. Bainton of Yale University is preparing a memoir of the late George Lincoln Burr for a forthcoming volume of Professor Burr's essays. He invites the co-operation of any of our readers who have letters from Professor Burr in their possession or who would be willing to communicate reminiscences.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

May I make some reply to the writer of the review of my book, *Charles I and his Earlier Parliaments,* which appeared in your issue of October, 1940, page 121? He would seem—his first sentence betrays it—to have read the book with a prejudiced eye. He entirely evades my whole case and takes refuge instead in a background.

The pith of his indictment is as follows: "Building his book largely around the parliament of 1625, Mr. Cooke forgets the long background of the struggle, the gradual accumulation of grievances and irritations, military failure, and, above all, the position of Buckingham and the universal hatred with which he was

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regarded. Thus the author's approach is fundamentally unhistorical, and his book becomes a piece of special pleading."

Now, the reader, if he reads me with care, will observe that the *relevant* background is that of June, 1625, or the time the first parliament assembled. And with this I have dealt much more fully (and also, I dare say, more candidly) in many respects than other writers, as witness what I say of the address that the houses presented to James. As for Buckingham, in 1624 he was ludicrously popular with the commons. Moreover, the commons were aiming at the king himself, not at the duke. I have made both these points fairly clear in my epilogue (p. 164). As for "grievances and irritations", there was none, as Sir E. Coke admitted (p. 32). In the matter of tonnage and poundage I conclusively show that the king recognized the case made by the commons and met it with substantial concessions. Then again, as to military failures, I ask what were these more precisely. The Mansfeld Expedition, perhaps; but the failure in that case was due in large measure to the commons' withholding the funds they so solemnly promised; and for that neither Charles nor the duke could be reasonably held as responsible. What were the other so-called failures?

Just a word upon one other point. "Mr. Cooke", so remarks your reviewer, "works with original sources though not with manuscripts." What the point may be here I know not, if it be not the raising of prejudice. Presumably "manuscripts" means the originals of documents printed. And which—may I ask—has he seen? Few, if any, I should venture to conjecture. And would it in that case detract from the value of the views he pronounces?

I could write in much greater detail; but for reasons of space I forbear.

Cambridge, England. HAROLD P. COOKE.

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

"The *relevant* background" for the struggle between Charles and parliament, writes Mr. Cooke, "is that of June, 1625, or the time the first parliament assembled." This is absurd. If ever a reign required background for understanding, it is the reign of Charles I. Nor does Mr. Cooke abide by his own limitation. He makes a great deal of a general promise of support given by the commons to the crown in 1624; and to this he constantly recurs as though it bound the commons for all time and under all circumstances. In a word, he selects his episodes, lifts them from their setting, and, all unwittingly, finds in them the meaning that he wishes to find.

He handles his sources in similar fashion. The documents cited in his epilogue are largely speeches by Charles which are offered as proof of the king's own case. Sir Edward Coke did not say there were no grievances in 1625; he said there were no *new* grievances since Charles's accession three months earlier. In the same year Solicitor Heath moved that the commons insert in the bill of tonnage and poundage a clause "saving their right". Into this passage Mr. Cooke reads "substantial concessions" by the crown. He can go further. The Eliot Resolutions of 1629 branded those who advised tonnage and poundage as "capital" enemies of the kingdom. Already, Mr. Cooke declares, the commons were planning to kill their king. He also finds a sinister prophecy in the commons' use in the 1620's of the word "commonwealth".

The passage quoted from my review refers to a considerable space of time. But Mr. Cooke applies it to a particular time. If he will look at the period as a whole, he will see that Buckingham's popularity in 1624 was most ephemeral and that there were other military failures besides the Mansfeld Expedition. The pas-

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sage he quotes, moreover, is part of a longer paragraph and should be read as such.

Mr. Cooke apparently does not know what a manuscript is. Now a manuscript, as the dictionary explains, is a book or document written by hand. There are in England great collections of manuscripts rich in material for the history of parliament. These manuscripts Mr. Cooke has not used. He asks whether I have used them, a point on which I refer him to my publications.

University of Minnesota. DAVID HARRIS WILLSON.

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